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BERLIN MUSEUM.

[*See p.* 139, *Vol. II.*

TITIAN:

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY,

CHIEFLY FROM NEW AND UNPUBLISHED RECORDS.

BY

Sir J. A. CROWE AND G. B. CAVALCASELLE,

AUTHORS OF THE "HISTORY OF PAINTING IN NORTH ITALY."

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:

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TITIAN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

Rivalry of Titian and Pordenone.—Pordenone decorates the Public Library, and Titian loses his Broker's Patent.—Pordenone is ordered to compete with Titian in the Public Palace, and Titian paints the "Battle of Cadore."—History of that Picture.—Site of the Battle.—Prints by Fontana and Burgkmair; Rubens' Drawing, and Copy at Florence.—Titian in contrast with Da Vinci and Raphael.—Drawings of the "Battle of Cadore."—Portraits of George Cornaro, Savorgnano, and others.—Death of the Duke of Urbino and Andrea Gritti.—Portrait of Doge Lando.—Sultan Soliman.—Titian's private Affairs.—He tries to visit Florence and Rome.—He fails.—Aretino and his Lampooners.—Del Vasto gives a Canonry to Titian's son.—The "Allocution."—Portrait of Bembo.—Death of Pordenone.—Titian regains his Broker's Patent.—"Angel and Tobit," and "Presentation in the Temple."—From Jacopo Bellini to Paolo Veronese.

TITIAN'S life and times have been traced from his first landing at Venice to the days when he completely established his independence. The eminence of his position was now so fully recognised that he had nothing apparently to fear from any sort of competition; yet it is a fact that he only held his own by great and constant exertion, and he never once was free from strong and even dangerous rivalry. A versatile craftsman, it would have been difficult to find a single artist who could paint a picture or a portrait with more taste or skill than himself. But

there were branches of his profession in which he probably confessed his own inferiority, and we cannot be sure that he would not have been able to name, at least, one Venetian who surpassed him in the practice of fresco. There were moments too when he would have admitted that there was a limit to the extension of his business as a painter, a limit at once defined by his own powers of production and the ability of a wealthy public to absorb the produce of his pencil at the price which he felt inclined to put upon it. Again he would have to choose between the sources of income derivable from composed pieces or likenesses. At the period with which we are now concerned he neglected composition to some extent as being less profitable than portraits, and this gave him a certain one-sidedness which did not escape general observation. The Venetian public seeing that in five years he had not brought out more than three or four pictures, whilst his portraits or portrait canvasses nearly reached the number of forty, grew impatient of his exclusiveness. The government which had besought him in vain to complete one subject at least for the Council Hall looked round for a cheaper, more pliant, and more accommodating artist. Gritti, the Doge, whose countenance and support had been Titian's mainstay, grew old or wearied of defending him ; and the result was the coming of Pordenone.

Pordenone had spent most of his life as a monumental draughtsman. Scarce a town or a village in Friuli could be named in which he had not covered an aisle, a chancel, or a choir with frescoes. In Venice

itself he had decorated the whole of one church and the cloisters of another with compositions celebrated for the talent with which they were executed. But his settlement in the capital had long been deferred, because the freedom of a wandering life or the charms of a country residence had always had more attractions for him than the confinement of a city. Perhaps also Pordenone was ill satisfied to hold rank after Titian, to whom he succumbed in 1527; still less pleased after 1533 to think that he was socially inferior to his rival, who had risen to the *status* of a count of the Roman Empire. But after 1528 Pordenone's fame had greatly increased. It extended far beyond the alpine regions which surrounded his home —to Mantua, Cremona, and Genoa. It was no longer based exclusively on skill in fresco painting, but on solid acquirements in every branch of art. Socially the gap which lay between him and Titian had been filled by a patent of nobility purchased or begged from the king of Hungary. Besides this, Pordenone's residence in the hills had been made intolerable by a family feud, and—last not least—Venice, as a market for artistic production, had acquired an importance hitherto unforeseen. During a period of comparative quiet, that portion of the public receipts which the government of Venice was authorized to expend on the preservation of state buildings had been allowed to accumulate. It was asserted in a minute of December, 1533, that the sum set apart for the keep and repair of the public palace had risen to 7000 ducats, though, two years before, 1700 ducats had been spent

in rebuilding the library called in after years the Sala del Scrutinio or Sala d'Oro.* Looking round for artists to adorn this large and noble hall, which lay at right angles to that of Great Council, the sages had to determine whether they should employ the facile hand of Bonifacio or Paris Bordone, or trust to the uncertain promises of Titian. At the critical moment Pordenone made his appearance at Venice; and his services were instantly accepted. The library had been restored architecturally by Serlio and Sansovino under the superintendence of Antonio Scarpagnini, builder of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi.† All these artists were friends of Titian, and, we may believe, hostile to Pordenone, yet they were compelled to witness the favour extended to Titian's rival. Scarpagnini, when ordered to pay ten ducats to Pordenone for preparing the decoration of the library ceiling, declined to perform the duty. The Council of Ten respected the feeling which dictated his conduct, but not the less continued to patronize the painter of their choice.‡ The library was so far advanced in March, 1537, that the Council of Ten entered a special minute on the journals to mark its approval of Pordenone's work. Not satisfied with this negative rebuff, it determined also to promote Pordenone at Titian's expense, and on the 23rd of June it issued the following hard and significant decree:

* Lorenzi, *u. s.* pp. 204 & 213.

† Compare Serlio's own statement in "Regole generali di architettura," fol. Ven. 1537, lib. 4, c. xi. p. lxx, with Lorenzi, *u. s.* pp. 194 & 213.

‡ See the details of these transactions in Lorenzi, *u. s.* p. 213.

"Since December, 1516, Titian has been in possession of a broker's patent, with a salary varying from 118 to 120 ducats a year, on condition that he shall paint the canvas of the land fight on the side of the Hall of Great Council looking out on the Grand Canal. Since that time he has held his patent and drawn his salary without performing his promise. It is proper that this state of things should cease, and accordingly Titian is called upon to refund all that he has received for the time in which he has done no work."*

Preparations were then made to install Pordenone as a rival to Vecelli; and on the 22nd of November, 1538, an order was issued appointing Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone to paint the picture between the pilasters six and seven in the Hall of Great Council—the space next to that reserved to Titian's.† These proceedings of the council, however severe they may have appeared to the person most concerned, were not without immediate effect. They induced Titian to think at once of his promise, and four months after the issue of the decree against him Aretino wrote the letter of November 9, 1537, already quoted in these pages, in which, after describing the picture of the Annunciation sent to the Empress, he spoke with emphatic praise of that which his friend was painting in the Palace of St. Mark.‡

The state of irritation in which Titian was placed

* See *antea*, and Lorenzi, p. 219.

† Lorenzi, p. 223.

‡ Aretino to Titian, Nov. 9, 1537, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, i. p. 180.

by the rivalry of Pordenone and the displeasure of the council may be easily conceived. We can fancy his despair at being asked to refund the unattainable sum of 1800 ducats, and obliged to remain, if but temporarily, deprived of his annual salary. We can picture to ourselves Pordenone, who was no stranger to the settlement of quarrels by arms, believing that he too might be waylaid and killed, if not on his defence, and he might think it fortunate that the patent of nobility which he had recently acquired should entitle him to wear the sword that would allow him to pink his antagonist. But nothing in Titian's conduct, then or after, appears to have justified his adversary's precautions. Titian redressed the wrong which he had inflicted on himself by diligently completing the battle-piece, which Vasari declared to have been the finest and best that was ever placed in the Hall.* Though a tardy atonement, it was the fittest that he could make; and we contemplate, even now, with a sigh the loss which the destruction of this composition inflicted on the Arts. In copies, drawings, and a print which have casually been preserved, we gain a fair knowledge of the groups which Titian threw upon his canvas, but no notion of the splendid execution which Sansovino attempted to describe in the following words:

"With surprising industry and art Titian represented the Battle of Spoleto in Umbria, where—conspicuous above all others—a captain, awake on a sudden

* Vasari, xiii. 29.

to the noise of a fight, was armed by a page. On the front of his breastplate there shone with incredible reality the lights and reflections of arms and the clothes of the page. There was a horse of extreme beauty and a youth [a girl] rising from the depth of a ditch to its banks, in whose face the utmost terror was depicted. And beneath this piece there was no inscription." *

It is to be borne in mind that all the pictures in the Council Hall had inscriptions, and that the absence of such an appendage to Titian's work must have had a cause. Beneath the fresco which Titian covered, there stood as far back as 1425 a sentence which proved that it was meant to commemorate an Imperial victory:

"URBS SPOLETANA QUE SOLA PAPE FAVEBAT OBSESSA ET VICTÆ AB IMPERATORE DELETUR." †

Why, the public might have asked, was this sentence now omitted?

Doge Gritti had always been known as a partisan of France. He probably asked Titian to produce a picture which should prefigure the capture of Spoleto, but illustrate an action won by Venice against the Kaiser; and Titian doubtless chose the battle of Cadore as one which, on account of his knowledge of the locality, he could paint better than any other. It was not desirable to offend the partisans of the Emperor, who ruled the destinies of Italy by too open

* Sansovino, Ven. Descr., p. 327. † Lorenzi, *u. s.* p. 61.

an exhibition of Venetian pride.* Titian therefore veiled the composition discreetly: he displayed in his composition the banner of the Empire, and the cognisance of the Corhari, rather than the winged lion of St. Mark; he dressed Maximilian's soldiers in the garb of Romans, and refrained from giving prominence to the characteristic troops of the Republic. The distance which simulated the Castle of Spoleto was really the crag of Cadore. The battle thus remained to the initiated a symbol of Venetian heroism and success, whilst it might still appear to the ignorant a victory without political meaning. Presuming all this to be true, it is amusing to register the reticences and assumptions of contemporary writers. Ridolfi, having no precautions to observe, revealed the purpose of the artist.† Critics of the time were more wary. Venetian chronicles only spoke of the "land fight." Dolce curtly talked of "the battle;" ‡ and Sansovino affected to believe that Titian represented "the capture of Spoleto."§ Vasari, deceived by the banter of the Venetians, was alone in the belief that the Signors had published a brilliant record of their own humiliation; and he wrote, in apparent good faith, that Titian's picture represented the "rout of Chiara-

* It was a moot point whether Venice in 1537 should exchange the alliance of the Emperor for that of France, and the matter was seriously discussed in that year in the Venetian senate. See a speech by Marcantonio Cornaro, in favour of Charles, in Paruta, Storia Veneta, tom. iii. of Storici Ven. 1718, lib. viii. p. 669.

† Ridolfi, Marav. i. 214.

‡ Lorenzi, p. 219; Dolce, Dialogo, 27, 67.

§ Sansovino, Ven. Descr. p. 327.

dadda," * thus substituting the action which Alviano lost for that which Alviano won. It was reserved to Ticozzi's defective historical insight to assign to Titian two battles instead of one.† If, after this, we still should doubt, an old canvas at Florence and a print by Fontana would show that Titian meant to paint the field of Tai, where the troops of Maximilian were overthrown in sight of the Castle of Cadore. And thus the master, who owed his knighthood and pensions to Charles the Fifth, is seen without compunction recording the defeat of Charles' predecessor, and, as Aretino says, doing honour to the "Signors."

Vasari describes the contest truly as a *mêlée* of soldiers in a storm of rain, but he adds that Titian took the whole scene from life, which we can scarcely interpret to mean that the painter was present at the fight. We should rather think that the landscapes and the figures were separately drawn from nature, and this again would confirm, if confirmation were needed, the story of Ridolfi. But Titian, as we shall see, was not so foolish as to depict one episode of a celebrated encounter. He was too well acquainted with the locality and history, not to be aware that its varied incidents could scarcely be seen from a single point. But he thought a painter might take the liberty of composing the subject so as to show the whole action at once, and we shall presently see how he succeeded. Shortly stated, the main features of the battle are these. Cadore and its castle having

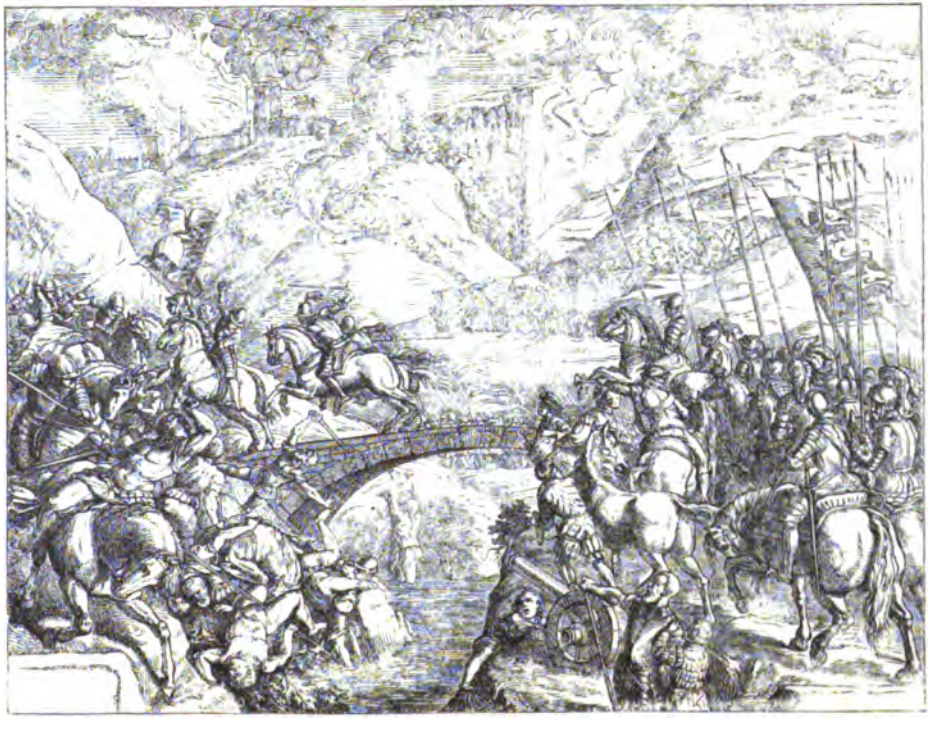
* Vasari, xiii. p. 28. † Ticozzi, Vecelli, pp. 54, 114.

fallen into the hands of the Emperor's generals, Girolamo Savorgnano was ordered to close the upper passes, Alviano to occupy the lower defiles of the valley of the Piave, and Cornaro the *provveditore* gave his consent to the scheme. Alviano then concerted measures with his colleagues, and surprised the passage of the Boite at Venas. Having posted his troops in Valle, and on the ground that stretches from Valle to Monte Zucco, he sent a detachment round to his left to seize Nebbiù, with orders to fall on the flank of the Imperialists as they advanced from Cadore. In these positions Alviano awaited the enemy's attack. The chroniclers of the fight say that the Emperor's force was allowed to fling back the outlying troops of the Venetians. But "near a small torrent," "at the first house of Valle," Alviano turned and took the offensive. This is the moment depicted on Titian's foreground.

It has been supposed by the writer of a charming notice of the battle-field, that an arched bridge spanning "the torrent" in Titian's picture is that still existing over the Boite near Venas, which by an artistic licence is made a leading feature in the composition,* but this is probably a mistake, as may presently be shown.

Titian's original canvas perished in the fire of 1577, but a complete view of the whole composition may be obtained from the contemporary print by Fontana. Its colours and shadows are found in the mutilated

* Cadore, by Josiah Gilbert, *u. s.* p. 182.



BATTLE OF CADORE. From a Print by Fontana.

[*Vol. II.*, *p.* 11.

copy at Florence, its admirable detail in a drawing by Rubens. A stream with steep and rocky banks, forms the centre of the foreground. To the right, half seen above the edge of the picture, a general, bare-headed, but armed in steel, stands resting his hand on a long cane, whilst his page in a slashed dress ties his shoulder-laces. Close in rear of these personages a field-piece stands unlimbered, and a girl, who seems to have crossed the water, struggles up with terror depicted in her face from the depths below. On the higher ground to the right, the Venetian knights with flying pennons and the Cornaro banner—three lions passant—unfurled, moves into action; two drummers beating, one trumpeter sounding a charge. A groom with difficulty holds the general's led-horse. Across a light stone bridge which spans the banks of the stream, the head files of the Venetian array have charged in twos, and are still charging the Germans, whose cavalry and men-at-arms are falling together in the *mêlée*. Two Venetian knights are galloping across the bridge, six others are on the left bank cutting down the enemy who resists with obstinacy yet with loss. The left-hand corner of the picture is filled by the figure of an Imperialist soldier, whose horse is stumbling down the bank of the stream, whilst his rider is thrown sideways from the saddle, to which his legs still cling with spasmodic energy. His sword is in his hand, but his left arm is thrown up convulsively, the head forced back by the shock of the lance piercing the ribs; and the reins fly loosely in the air as horse and man are hurled to destruction. In

Rubens' drawing, the marvellous foreshortening of this figure, the outline of the forms in their tension and agony, are admirable; equally so those of a soldier behind, who stands with his blade ready to defend himself, and presents a brawny back and arms to the spectator. Admirable, too, in this drawing is the knight who has just crossed the bridge, and tearing on at full gallop, stoops to his opponent, who falls headlong into the river. The left bank is strewn right down to the water with the bodies of the dead and dying, whilst through the arch one sees a soldier trying to climb the face of a perpendicular rock. In the field of Tai beyond are two distinct bodies of troops, one in motion nearest to the bridge, another in reserve at the foot of a spur, which gradually rises to form the crag on which the castle of Cadore is built. Deep ravines on the right and left part the crag from the surrounding hills, and flames and smoke are darting from a house, and from the more distant battlements of the fortress.

We can fix with tolerable certainty the spot upon which Titian made his sketch of the foreground for the "Battle of Cadore." The road which leads from Valle to Tai crosses the beds of two torrents which take their rise in the neighbouring mountains. These two torrents fall into one bed, south of the road, and taking the name of Ruseco, run between very steep banks to the Boite. The old road from Valle to Perarolo crosses the Ruseco over a wooden covered bridge, which spans a chasm of some depth; and here we may think Titian imagined the arch of stone which is a conspicuous feature of his picture. From

the bank to the right of the stream one can see the bridge, and the precipices over which it is built, the side of Monte Zucco, and the road to Perarolo. Behind the bridge the "Pian di Tai," the very field on which the action was ultimately won. Rising from the Pian di Tai, the spurs are cleft to form the range of San Dionisio, in rear of which the peak of Antelao soars. To the left, on a height, is Valle. Titian having chosen the bridge on the Ruseco as the point, "near the torrent at the first house of Valle," where the first onset was made, takes the licence of ignoring the natural background of Tai, but substitutes for it that of the crag of Cadore, as it might be seen from other points of the battle-field. He paints the action in its various phases and general character, as if all its parts were visible from one spot. He keeps enough of the reality to enable a Cadorine to recognise the action, but not enough to enlighten those whom the Venetian government might wish to convince that the scene was the hill of Spoleto. The deception is kept up by ingenious arrangements of detail. The Emperor's troops, we saw, are dressed as Roman soldiers; their banners are those of the empire. The troops on the other side are not under the winged lion of St. Mark, but under a banner which bears the three passant lions of the Cornari. No snow conceals the land, no dolomites are visible. There are no signs of the Stradiots, the nimble cavalry of the Venetians.* The prominent forces of Venice

* They were easily recognized by their cylinder hats.

are all in armour, their infantry is thrown back into the middle distance. We noted that Ridolfi boldly called the fight by its real name. Fontana's print always has borne the title of "Titian's Battle of Cadore." Burgkmair designed a woodcut for the romance of the "Weiss Kunig," in which he represented, long before Titian, the action of Pian di Tai. It is curious to observe how closely the landscape resembles that which adorned the public palace of Venice. Having nothing to conceal, Burgkmair shows the Stradiots tilting at the Germans. The winged lion of St. Mark is the standard of Venice. Cadore crag is in the middle of the background. The castle crowns the hill, under the flag of the empire; and fire has not singed its walls. The torrent and bridge are not component parts of the picture, but the general lie of the ground and rocks is that of Fontana's print.

We noted, besides the print, a copy of Titian's picture at Florence. This is a sketch on canvas, repeating on a small scale part of the master's composition. Rubens' drawing of the principal group is preserved in the Albertina at Vienna, and was probably copied from the original registered in the great Fleming's collection, as "a draught of horses by Titian." * The copy is but a transcript in Rubens' style of outlines by a still greater artist, but we may yet discern in it the truth, correctness, and energetic design of Titian. It enables us to admire the com-

* See Rubens' inventory in Sainsbury, *u. s.* p. 236.

bined perfection of appropriate grouping and individual action, carried to surprising completeness in the splendid figure of the falling horse and man in the left foreground, in which the weight and power concentrated in the foreshortenings of the "Peter Martyr" are apparent, allied to more searching contour. Here we recognise a force akin to that of Michael Angelo, conjoined with that realistic boldness which Tintoretto so often, yet so vainly, strove to emulate. Strange that the same artist who preserved the group of Lionardo's "Battle of Anghiari" should also have rescued from total loss one group of the "Battle of Cadore." Strange that in both fragments we should find the weapons and dress of the Roman age—matters familiar indeed to Titian, who was studying the antique at this time to realise his portraits of the Cæsars, but striking in Lionardo as contrasting with his tender delineations of Madonnas, deep-meaning in their sublime serenity and eternal smile. In Fontana's print we observe Titian's surprising art as a composer, his rare skill in depicting the stern reality and varied expression of a hand-to-hand conflict. His cleverness in detail is only equalled by the grandeur of his conception in the spring and motion of horses. Looking at this noble display as a whole, we are struck by its relation to the "Battle of Constantine" at the Vatican, which, though carried out by Giulio Romano, was designed by Raphael. We concede to Sanzio more simplicity of arrangement, a more measured distribution, more studied outline, greater elegance in figures and drapery. But Titian

is second to none in fancy and appropriate action, whilst he is more naturally true and convincing by reason of his colour and massive balance of light and shade. Of this last quality we have evidence in the copy at the Uffizi, which has long been considered a sketch by Titian himself,—a copy which, in spite of its imperfections and hasty execution, still preserves the tints as well as the lights and shades of the original picture.*

We should think this canvas a copy, not alone because it is drawn and painted without the mastery of Titian, but because its details are not those of a preliminary sketch, and because it comprises a part only of Titian's composition. So great a master would never have thrust back the prominent figures of the general and his page to the edge of the canvas, nor confined himself to the indication of the trumpeter and drummers, and leading files of the Venetian array. He would have given to his sketch the grand lines which distinguish Fontana's print. A copyist, without feeling for the laws of composition, might, and probably did mutilate the master's design for some purpose of his own. The same mutilation and

* Uffizi, No. 609. Small sketch on canvas, four feet square, omitting no less than one entire figure of a knight on horseback, and eight others in rear of it; all forming part of the Venetian troop on the right side of Titian's composition, as shown in Fontana's print. We may note some of the colours in the Uffizi copy. The page is in red; the groom, in yellow, leads a white horse. The standard of the troops in the middle ground is striped in red and white. The trumpeter wears a red dress. The horse of the foremost rider on the bridge is white; the banner of the empire white, embroidered with a black eagle.

similar defects mark a drawing which the late Dr. Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall at Oxford, fondly assigned to Titian; and we might conclude that drawing and canvas were the labour of one pair of hands, but that some details, such as a Stradiot in the left side of the former, are not to be found in the latter.* There is but one artist in the pictorial annals of Venice whose name is mentioned in connection with a copy of the "Battle of Cadore." Ridolfi states that Leonardo Corona, who studied the works of all the great Venetians, copied the masterpiece in the Hall of Great Council, and sold it to his colleague, Aliense, who sent it to Verona, where it passed for an original.† It would be rash to infer that this copy was used for the production of Fontana's print. We are unfortunately ignorant of every detail respecting the life of an engraver of whom but one plate is known to exist.

Italian historians were fond of attributing the victory of Cadore to Giorgio Cornaro, the *provveditore*, whom the Venetian government appointed to control Alviano in the exercise of supreme command. Titian appears to have given pictorial expression to this feeling, which Ridolfi refused to countenance.‡ Not only

* This drawing passed through the Lawrence and Esdaile Collections, and now belongs to Mr. Gilbert, who purchased it at Dr. Wellesley's sale, together with a study for the horse and falling rider, assigned to Titian, but obviously by some other draughtsman. Compare Gilbert's Cadore, pp. 185, 186.

† Ridolfi, Marav. ii. p. 289. The same author, however, affirms: "Di questa istoria molte copie si sono vedute, ma scarsamente rappresentano la bellezza dell' originale." (Marav. i. 215.)

‡ Ridolfi, Mar. i. 225.

the banner is that of Cornaro, but the general, whose laces the page is tying in the foreground of the battle, is another man than Alviano. Some years after this brave soldier died, a monument was erected to his memory in the church of San Stefano at Venice, and the quaint ugliness of his ungainly form was thus handed down to posterity. In stature short and stout, his head was disfigured by unpleasant pinguidity, his nose was mutilated by scars, his hair was long and parted in the middle, falling in limp masses over the shoulders, and his chin and lip were free from every trace of beard. In Titian's battle the general is bearded, and his head is covered with a short shock of curly hair. His person is tall and stately, his features handsome and manly, all distinctly pointing to Giorgio Cornaro, of whom a contemporary panegyrist said:—"Quam enim decora forma fuit; quanta oris majestate! qua totius corporis pulchritudine."*

Nor is it to be forgotten that a portrait of Titian's best time exists which bears some trace of a likeness to the general of "the battle," and on the back of the canvas are the words:—"Georgius Cornelius frater Catterinæ Cipri et Hierusalem Reginæ." Titian had numerous opportunities of meeting Giorgio Cornaro, who lived till 1527, and played an important part in Venetian politics. His form was conspicuous in the canvas which Titian first painted for the Hall of Great Council. It is probable that the portrait, to

* "Caroli Cappellii in funere Georgii Cornelii Catharinæ Cypri Reginæ fratris Oratio;" in Augustini Valerii opusculum, &c., 4to, Patav. 1719, p. 223.

which allusion has been made, was executed about 1522, when Cornaro was sixty-eight years old, but that the painter reproduced the features of an earlier time,* for which he had ample facility from his long and untiring practice.

We cannot otherwise explain the conflicting evidence of style, which shows that the portrait was executed about 1522, of an age which proves that the man depicted is not more than fifty years old; of an inscription which tells that the person portrayed is Giorgio Cornaro. Titian never produced a finer picture than that which now adorns the gallery of Castle Howard. Cornaro stands as large as life at a window, and his frame is seen to the hips. His head, three-quarters to the right, is raised in a quick and natural way, and his fine manly features are enframed in short chestnut hair, and a well-trimmed beard of the same colour. On his gloved left hand a falcon without a hood is resting, of which he is grasping the breast. He looks at the bird, which is still chained to his finger, as if preparing to fly it; a sword hangs to his waist, which is bound with a crimson sash; a fur collar falls over a brown hunting coat, and a large white liver-spotted hound shows his head above the parapet. There is no sign of a touch in this beautiful work, which is modelled with all the richness of tone and smoothness of surface

* Cornaro's panegyrist says he succeeded his father at the age of twenty-five. Marco Cornaro, Giorgio's father, was buried on the 6th of September, 1479. See Caroli Cappellii Oratio, *u. s.* p. 218, and Petri Contareni in Funere, Marci Cornelii Oratio, *Ib* p. 202.

which distinguish polished flesh. The attitude is natural, the complexion is warm and embrowned by sun; and every part is blended with the utmost finish without producing want of flexibility.*

Tradition points to another general who commanded in the Cadorine war as one of Titian's sitters, and Girolamo Savorgnano, who had this honour, deserved to be portrayed by so great a master, if only for the grandeur of the figure which he presents in the annals of Venetian diplomacy and war. Yet a portrait of "Savorgnano," which adorns the Bankes Collection, is not certainly that of Girolamo, who died in Friuli on the 30th of March, 1529; and were it even so, can hardly have been executed as early as 1537. It represents a man of sixty, in a dark green pelisse, with a fur collar and sleeves, and a red stole falling across the breast from the left shoulder. The right hand grasps the stole, whilst the left rests on a table and lightly holds a glove. The whole form, detached in gloomy warmth on a light brown ground, is striking for the grave dignity of its bearing and the energy of its attitude and expression. The face is open, its shape regular, the features are well cut, and fairly set off by short curly hair, and a close trimmed beard. It is hard to believe that Titian should have painted a likeness of

* This beautiful piece has been transferred to a new canvas, on which the old inscription above given was copied. There are traces of stippling here and there in the flesh. On the brown background we read, "TITIANVS F." A copy of this picture was formerly owned by Signor Valentino Benfatto of Venice. See the addenda to Zanotto's Guida of 1863. The original at Castle Howard was engraved, 1811, by Skelton.

this boldness,—bold in touch and modelling—bold in glance, and thoroughly natural in attitude; without the presence of a model. Whilst if he produced this work,—as we should think he did—after 1537, and meant to depict Girolamo Savorgnano, he must have trusted to memory or to some earlier likeness.*

If we judge of the size of the "Battle of Cadore" by that of the Hall in which it was placed, we must conclude that it was a picture of great compass, with the principal figures as large as life. If in November, 1537, Titian was at work in the palace, as Aretino asserts,† it is not probable that he ceased to work there before the following Midsummer. But in June and during the latter half of the year he had time to attend to commissions from other patrons besides the angry and obdurate signors of Venice. Having sent the first emperor—Augustus—in April, 1537, to Mantua, he had been able to finish three more in the middle of the following September; but then he paused and surrendered every hour of his time to the Council of Ten.‡ In June, 1538, he found leisure to do his friend Sansovino a service. The Cadorines had been quarrelling with the municipality of Belluno as to boundaries, and the Doge, to whom they had appealed, had refused to deliver judgment before seeing a sketch of the ground. At Titian's request

* This also is a half-length, of life size, on canvas, not without injury from wear and re-touching. It once belonged to the Marescalchi Collection at Bologna.

† See *antea*, p. 9.

‡ See *antea*, i. pp. 422 and ff., and two letters of Benedetto Agnello to the Duke of Mantua, in Appendix.

the Syndic of Cadore and Girolamo Ciani took Sansovino through the woods of the Toanella, which skirted the Bellunese limits, and his sketch of the country was sent to Venice and decided the case in favour of Cadore.*

About the same time Titian painted the likeness—still preserved in the Berlin Museum—of Giovanni Moro, a well-known captain in the Venetian fleet, who was appointed to a high command in the Duke of Urbino's armada. Moro had made his name illustrious in the wars of Venice with the Duke of Ferrara. He had been envoy to Charles the Fifth, and "Provveditore Generale" in Candia. He was now on the eve of returning to the island, where he was killed in a riot in 1539. Titian has preserved to us the features of a soldier who appears in long hair and beard, with a red scarf across his arm and the baton of his rank in his hand. The channelled breast-plate and scolloped shoulder-pieces are cleverly rendered; but time has done some injury to the surfaces, which are in part abraded and scaled away or injured by restoring.†

* Ciani, Storia, *u. s.*, ii. 255–6.

† This canvas, No. 161 in the Berlin Museum, is 2 ft. 7¼ in. high, by 2 ft. 2 in. The figure is bareheaded, and seen to the belt. As late as 1873 the surface of the picture was such as to suggest grave doubts as to the authorship of Titian; the flesh tints being crude and uniform, the beard and hair repainted, and the breast and shoulders lost in darkness. In white letters, on a very dark ground, the following modern inscription was to be read:—

IOANNES MAVRVS
GENERALIS MARIS
IMPERATOR
MDXXXVIII.

In 1874 the canvas was regenerated by Pettenkofer's process, when much of the richness of the original tones reappeared. The

In August, 1538, Federico Gonzaga wrote to Benedetto Agnello, his agent at Venice, that he intended to visit his marquisate of Montferrat, and for that purpose would proceed to Casale in the following September. It was his wish that Titian should be informed of this and instructed to come with the remaining "Emperors" to Mantua. If, he added, Titian was not ready, he should still be asked to come, on the understanding that the "Cæsars" should be sent at least for the Duke's return. Titian promised Agnello to devote all his time to his duty; but in view of further commissions said he had made a portrait of the Grand Turk from a medal, and he would repeat it in proper form if His Excelleney pleased. Federico replied that he would take all that Titian sent him, the "Emperors" first, the "Grand Turk" after. The latter, Agnello wrote on the 18th of September, was already finished; the "Emperors" would be delayed because the Duke of Urbino had asked Titian to accompany him to Pesaro.* Francesco Maria, it is well to recall, had fallen ill in the midst of his warlike preparations, and had hoped to recover by changing his residence from Venice to Pesaro. The poison which killed him worked with no less effect at Pesaro than at Venice, and on the 20th of

inscription was then found to have been written over the old one, the letters of which were in black. Abraded parts were left as they were. Holes made by scaling in the forehead, background, and armour, were repaired. The hands still remain unsatisfactory. For details of Moro's career, Cicogna, Isc. Ven. vi. 590.

* See the correspondence of the Duke of Mantua and his agents in Appendix.

October the Duke of Urbino died after weeks of protracted agony. About two months later, on the 28th of December, the Doge, Andrea Gritti, died also, having attained to the great age of 83. He was succeeded on the 8th of January, 1539, by Pietro Lando, for whom Titian at once painted a portrait for the Hall of Great Council.* It is with regret that we look back to the annals of a time so fruitful in great and important creations of Titian's brush. We saw that none, or at the best but one, of the "Cæsars" was preserved. The portraits of the great Soliman, one of which belonged to the Duke of Urbino, and that of the Doge Lando, are all lost.†

Amongst the cares with which Titian was surrounded at this period we should notice not only those caused by the displeasure of the Venetian government, and the rivalry of Pordenone, but others more petty, but not less irksome. Though his claims on the Emperor's bounty had been satisfied by an assignment of dues on the Neapolitan treasury, and the Duke of Mantua had given him the benefice of Medole, he had not yet received any money from the first, and the second had been burdened with an annuity. In April, 1537, Titian asked the Duke to relieve him of this annuity, and in September, 1539, he complained that the annuitant pestered him with

* See the proofs in Lorenzi (p. 259). For this portrait Titian received as usual twenty-five ducats.

† The former is noted in the Mantuan inventory of 1627: Ritratto di Selim rè dei Turchi. Darco. Pitt. Mant. ii. p. 167. The original from which it was done Vasari saw in the collection of the Roveres' at Urbino. It has also been lost. (See Vas. xiii. 32.)

letters which prevented him from working.* But the Duke had not done anything for his relief, and the plague of letters continued. Conversely Titian bombarded the treasury of Naples with letters, making demands similar to those which he found distressing to himself. "I have no money," said Titian to Agnello, "to pay this annuitant." "We have no money to send to Titian," was the reply of the Neapolitans. Yet Titian left no stone unturned to soften the rigour of the Imperial agents, and Aretino, in his name, moved "Heaven and earth" for months to the same purpose. In a characteristic epistle he promised Ottaviano de' Medici, in July, 1539, that Titian should go over to Florence and paint the likenesses of himself, the Duke and Duchess, and the Princess Mary, if he would only use his interest in the painter's favour.†

Writing on the following day to Leone Aretino at Rome, he complained of the lukewarmness of the Pope, who delayed to send for Titian, whose genius was destined to leave "eternal memories of the princes of the house of Farnese." ‡ All in vain. Frequently as Titian had been asked to Rome, he had always refused. Now that Aretino wanted him to be asked, no one would attend to his wishes. There was something too in the agency of Titian's applications which possibly ensured their failure. Aretino

* See Appendix, vol. i., and Appendix to this volume.

† Aretino to Ottaviano de' Medici, Venice, July 10, 1539, in Lettere di M. P. Aret°, ii. 84v. & 85.

‡ Aretino to Leone Aretino, Venice, July 11, 1539, in Lettere di M. P. A., ii. p. 86.

was in trouble. His malignant tongue and pen had offended the Duke of Mantua and other potent personages, and satirists, almost equal to himself in shameless virulence, were lampooning him without mercy. To the sonnets of Berni there came superadded those of Franco of Benevento, whose hand never tired till he had written more than five hundred couplets. It was the more grievous for "the scourge" that he should be thus attacked, because Franco was a parasite of his own. He had taken the man in, a stranger, shoeless and starving, had clothed, fed, and lodged him, and used his services as a secretary. Titian too had recommended him to Benedetto Agnello, and now the venomous serpent turned and bit his benefactors.* One day he met Titian in the street and thrust his cap into his pocket to avoid doffing it when the painter passed ;† then he wrote a sonnet in which he praised Titian for painting Aretino, and thus immortalizing the concentrated infamy of an entire age :—

"Datevi buona voglia, Tiziano,
E dell' aver ritratto l' Aretino
Pentir non vi deggiate . . . .
Non manco lodi ve ne saran date
Di quante avete in simile soggetto:
Anzi d' assai più, quanto rinchiuso aggiate
Nello spacio d'un piccolo quadretto
Tutta l'infamia della nostra etate." ‡

Aretino replied to these lampoons with abusive letters, which he printed, and which obtained a much

* Aretino to Lodovico Dolce, Venice, Oct. 7, 1539, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, ii. 98, 99.

† Ibid.

‡ Mazuchelli, Vita di P. Aretino, *u. s.*, p. 141.

wider circulation than the manuscript effusions of his adversaries; and Titian recouped his losses at Medole and Naples under the favour of the Marquis del Vasto.

Davalos had been sent to Venice to attend the installation of the Doge Pietro Lando.* He had been with Titian, and commissioned him to paint a picture of himself in the act of addressing his soldiers. Titian then confided his grievances to the patron whose recent appointment to the government of Milan had made him quite a power in the Italian states, and Davalos promised every sort of support. In October, 1539, Don Lope de Soria, who had just been superseded in the office of ambassador to Charles the Fifth at Venice, by Don Diego de Mendozza, passed through Milan, and wrote to Titian to ask him to visit the marquis and his wife, and to tell him that his son Pomponio had been invested with a new canonry.† At the same time Antonio Anselmi, a friend of Bembo, whose promotion to a cardinal's hat had just been made, wrote to his friend Agostino Lando, at Bembo's instigation, to recommend him to Titian. Agostino, a relative of the Doge, agent and afterwards murderer of Pier' Luigi Farnese of Parma, sat to the painter; and Aretino, when thanking the nobleman for a present of anchovies and fruit in November, 1539, was able to congratulate him on Titian's success in

* Aretino to the Emperor, Venice, Dec. 25, 1539, Lettere di M. P. A. ii. 108v.

† Liruti, Memorie dei letterati del Friuli, ii. p. 288, in Ticozzi, Vecelli, note to p. 113; and Aretino to Don Lope di Soria, Venice, Feb. 1, 1540, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, ii. 116v. Ridolfi (i. 238) errs in affirming that the canonry was given by Charles V.

portraying his features.* Bembo, on his part, asked Titian for another likeness, and writing to Girolamo Quirini at the close of May, 1540, begged him to thank the master for his second portrait, which he had meant to pay for, but was willing to accept as a present, seeing that he would be able to repay the kindness by some appropriate favour.† Finally, the Venetian government having lost the services of Pordenone, who had died suddenly at Ferrara, in December, 1538, relented of its severity and reinstated Titian in his broker's patent on the 28th of August, 1539.‡

Titian's likeness of Bembo as a cardinal has been preserved. It now adorns one of the rooms of the Barberini Palace at Rome, and represents the Venetian statesman in a grand and noble fashion. The gaunt and bony head is lively and energetic, the flesh warm and flushed. Though powerful in form, it represents an aged man; but one who lightly bears the seventy years that have passed over his features. The glance is animated, and the eyes look firmly out from a face turned three-quarters to the left. The right hand, half pointing, half gesticulating, appears to enforce the words that—we might think—had just issued

* Antonio Anselmi to Agostino Landi at Venice, Padua, April 27, 1539; and the same to the same, Padua, May 2, 1539, in Ronchini, Delle Relazioni di Tiziano coi Farnesi, 4°, Modena, 1864, note to p. 1.; also Aretino to Agostino Landi, Venice, Nov. 15, 1539, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, ii. 104. The portrait of Landi was taken to Milan, and is not now to be traced. See also Ronchini's Lettere di Uomini illustri, *u. s.*, i. 127, 133.

† Bembo to Girolamo Quirini, Rome, May 30, 1540, in P. Bembo, Opere, vol. vi. p. 316.

‡ Lorenzi, *u. s.*, p. 276.

from the lips. The high forehead is partly concealed by the red hat, the white beard square-trimmed, and the white collar and sleeve relieved on the red silk of the cardinal's habit. Notwithstanding a dark and cold background, injured by restoring, the figure stands out fairly before us, and modern daubs on the forehead and face hardly prevent us from observing the quick sway of the brush as it laid in the parts, and modelled them in a deep bed of pigment.*

But Titian's energy and great creative power are not fairly illustrated by this—the sole surviving relic of numerous pictures noted by the letter-writers of the time. Several masterpieces, of which contemporary annalists say little or nothing, are worthy of more prolonged attention; and amongst these we should particularly note the "Angel and Tobit" of San Marciliano at Venice, and the "Presentation in the Temple," at the Venice Academy.

In the "Angel and Tobit" of San Marciliano, the art which Titian displays is equal to that which excited the envy of Pordenone in the Almsgiver of San Giovanni Elemosinario. The grace and liveliness of the angel, who steps forward like a Roman Victory, borne by his green-toned wings, are enhanced by the gorgeousness of a red tunic bound by a girdle to his hips, and falling in beautiful folds to the ground. The right arm outstretched, the hand with a vase are fine. It would seem as if the vase was the subject of

* This picture, No. 35 in the 2nd Room, is on canvas; the figure of life size, seen to the elbows. It is mentioned by Vasari, xiii. p. 43.

Tobit's thoughts, as he walks and looks up whilst he puts forth his right hand in wondering awe. The warm brown dress, the white sleeve and yellow leggings harmonize with the reds of the angel's tunic, the green of his wings, and the blues of the sky behind. No figures were ever more beautifully coupled. One sees that, though moving from right to left towards the foreground, they are on the point of turning to their right, the inception of this movement being indicated in part by themselves, in part by the white spotted dog in front of them, who sidles very markedly to the left. St. John the Baptist kneels at the foot of a tree with a cross resting against his shoulder. His glance is directed to the heavens, where a ray of sun pierces the clouds, to descend and illumine a beautiful expanse of landscape. To form of a masculine and powerful type Titian adds appropriate expression and gesture, and action and motion of grand boldness and freedom. The bed of pigment is heavy and thick, but of malleable stuff. Large flakes of light are pitted against equally large masses of gloom, and blended with them in masterly fusion. The shadow is thrown with broad sweeps of a brush of stiff bristle and solid size, and it seems as if no time had been lost in subtle glazings, when effect could be won by direct but moderate and temperate strokes.*

* This canvas is engraved in the Collections of Patina and Lovisa. Vasari's assertion that it was executed before 1508 is clearly erroneous. The figures are as large as life, and the canvas now hangs on its old altar to the left of the church portal, after

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. VENICE ACADEMY.

[*To face p.* 31, *Vol. II.*

The "Presentation in the Temple," originally designed for the brotherhood of Santa Maria della Carità, covered the whole side of a room in the so-called "Albergo," now used for the exhibition of works of the old masters at Venice. In this room, which is contiguous to the modern hall in which Titian's "Assunta" is displayed, there were two doors for which allowance was made in Titian's canvas; and twenty-five feet—the length of the wall—is now the length of the picture. When this vast canvas was removed from its place, the gaps of the doors were filled in with new linen, and painted up to the tone of the original, giving rise to the quaint deformity of a simulated opening in the flank of the steps leading up to the Temple, and a production of the figures in the left foreground—a boy, a senator giving alms, a beggar woman and two nobles. Strips of new stuff were sewn on above and below, and in addition to various patches of restoring, the whole was toned up, or "tuned" to the great detriment of the picture. Notwithstanding these drawbacks and in spite of the fact that the light is no longer that which the painter contemplated, the genius of Titian triumphs over all difficulties, and the "Presentation in the Temple" is the finest and most complete creation of Venetian art, since the "Peter Martyr" and the "Madonna di Casa" Pesaro.

having been a long time in the sacristy. Compare Vas. xiii. 21; Sansovino, Ven. Desc. 146; Boschini, Miniere S. di Canarregio, p. 53; Zanetti, Pit. Ven. 146. Old varnish and the effects of time contribute to give a dark aspect to this piece. An old copy of it is (No. 234) in the Dresden Museum.

It was not to be expected that Titian should go deeper into the period from which he derived his gospel subject than other artists of his time. An ardent admirer of his genius has noticed the propriety with which he adorned a background with a portico of Corinthian pillars, because Herod's palace was decorated with a similar appendage. He might with equal truth have justified the country of Bethlehem transformed into Cadorine hills, Venice substituted for Jerusalem, and Pharisees replaced by Venetian senators. It was in the nature of Titian to represent a subject like this as a domestic pageant of his own time, and seen in this light, it is exceedingly touching and surprisingly beautiful. Mary in a dress of celestial blue ascends the steps of the temple in a halo of radiance. She pauses on the first landing place, and gathers her skirts, to ascend to the second. The flight is in profile before us. At the top of it the high priest in Jewish garments, yellow tunic, blue undercoat and sleeves and white robe, looks down at the girl with serene and kindly gravity, a priest in cardinal's robes at his side, a menial in black behind him, and a young acolyte in red and yellow holding the book of prayer. At the bottom, there are people looking up, some of them leaning on the edge of the steps, others about to ascend,—Anna, with a matron in company; Joachim turning to address a friend. Curious people press forward to witness the scene, and a child baits a little dog with a cake. Behind and to the left and with grave solemnity, some dignitaries are moving. One in red robe of state with a black

velvet stole across his shoulder is supposed to represent Paolo de' Franceschi, at this time grand-chancellor of Venice.* The noble in black to whom he speaks is Lazzaro Crasso. Two senators follow, whilst a third still further back gives alms to a poor mother with a child in her arms. In front of the gloom that lies on the profile of steps an old woman sits with a basket of eggs and a couple of fowls at her feet, her head and frame swathed in a white hood, which carries the light of the picture into the foreground. In a corner to the right an antique torso receives a reflex of the light that darts more fully on the hag close by. It seems to be the original model of the soldiers that rode in the battle of Cadore, or the Emperors that hung in the halls of the palace of Mantua.†

Uniting the majestic lines of a composition perfect in the balance of its masses with an effect unsurpassed in its contrasts of light and shade, the genius of the master has laid the scene in palatial architecture of grand simplicity. On one side a house and colonnade on square pillars, with a slender pyramid behind it, on the other a palace and portico of coloured marbles in front of an edifice richly patterned in diapered bricks. From the windows and balconies the spectators look down upon the ceremony or converse with the groups below. With instinctive tact

* There was a portrait of the Chancellor, Paolo de' Franceschi, in the Vidman Collection, which Ridolfi (Marav. i. 262) assigned to Titian.

† This torso filled the unoccupied corner of the picture to the right of the door, the framework of which broke through the base of the picture.

the whole of these are kept in focus by appropriate gradations of light, which enable Titian to give the highest prominence to the Virgin, though she is necessarily smaller than any other person present. The bright radiance round her fades as it recedes to the more remote groups in the picture, the forms of which are cast into deeper gloom in proportion as they are more distant from the halo. The senator who gives alms is darkly seen under the shade of the colonnade, from which he seems to have emerged. In every one of these gradations the heads preserve the portrait character peculiar to Titian, yet each of the figures is varied as to sex, age, and condition; each in his sphere has a decided type, and all are diverse in form, in movement, and gesture. To the monumental dignity of the groups and architecture the distance perfectly corresponds. We admire the wonderful expressiveness of the painter's mountain lines. The boulder to the left, with its scanty vegetation and sparse trees, rises darkly behind the pyramid. A low hummock rests dimly in rear, whilst a gleam flits over remoter crags, crested with ruins of castles; and the dark heath of the hill beyond—with the smoke issuing from a moss-fire—relieves the blue cones of dolomites that are wreathed as it were in the mist which curls into and mingles with the clouded sky. The splendid contrast of palaces and Alps tells of the master who was born at Cadore, yet lived at Venice.

The harmony of the colours is so true and ringing, and the chords are so subtle, that the eye takes in the scene as if it were one of natural richness, unconscious

of the means by which that richness is attained. Ideals of form created by combinations of perfect shapes and outlines with select proportions, may strike us in the Greeks and Florentines. Here the picture is built up in colours, the landscape is not a symbol, but scenic; and the men and palaces and hills are seen living or life-like in sun and shade and air. In this gorgeous yet masculine and robust realism Titian shows his great originality, and claims to be the noblest representative of the Venetian school of colour.*

Hardly a century has expired since Venetian painting rose out of the slough of Byzantine tradition, yet now it stands in its zenith. Recruiting its strength from Jacopo Bellini, who brought the laws of perspective from Tuscany, the schools of the Rialto expand with help from Paduan sources, and master the antique as taught by Donatello and Mantegna. They found the monumental but realistic style which Gentile Bellini developed in his "Procession of the

* The measure of this canvas, No. 487, at the Venice Academy, is m. 3.75 high by 7.80, but of the height 10 cent. above and 10 below are new. The person who made these and other additions, as well as restorations noted in the text, was a painter of this century, named Sebastiano Santi. (Zanotto, Pinac. Venet.) Besides the patches described above, there are damaging retouches in the landscape and sky, in a figure at a window to the left, in figures on the balcony, and a soldier holding a halbert. The face of St. Anna, and the dress of the old woman in the foreground, are both new. Zanetti (Pitt. Ven. p. 155) states that the picture was cleaned and the sky injured in his time (18th century); compare Vas. xiii. p. 29; Sansovino, Ven. desc. p. 266; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 198; and Boschini, Miniere, S. di D. Duro. p. 36. Engraved in Lovisa; photograph by Naya.

Relic," and Carpaccio displayed in his "Ursula Legend." They seize and acquire the secrets of colour by means of Antonello; and their chief masters, Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian, adding a story to the pictorial edifice, bring it at last to that perfection which we witness in the "Presentation in the Temple." Looking back a hundred years, we find Jacopo Bellini's conception of this subject altogether monumental. The long flight of steps, the portico of the temple, Mary on the first landing, her parents behind her, a castellated mansion in the distance, are all to be found in the sketch book of 1430. Titian inherits the framework, and fills it in. He takes up and assimilates what his predecessors have garnered. He goes back to nature and the antique, and with a grand creative power sets his seal on Venetian art for ever. What Paris Bordone or Paul Veronese can do on the lines which their master laid down is clear when we look at the Doge and fisherman of the first and the monumental palaces in the compositions of the latter. In a later form of Titian's progress—that which marks the ceiling pieces of San Spirito—we trace the source of Tintoretto's daring. All inherit something from Titian, but none are able to surpass him.

CHAPTER II.

North-east of Venice.—Titian's House in Biri Grande; his Home Life; his Children.—Portraits.—Death of the Duke of Mantua.—Portraits of Mendozza and Martinengo.—Charles the Fifth and Titian at Milan; the "Allocution," and the "Nativity."—Titian receives a Pension on the Milan Treasury.—His quarrel with the Monks of San Spirito.—Carnival and the Company of the Calza.—Aretino sends for Vasari, who receives employment at Venice.—Portraits of Catherine Cornaro and Doge Lando—Portraits of Titian by himself; of Titian and Zuccato; of Titian and Lavinia.—Votive Picture of the Doge.—The Strozzi, and Titian's likeness of R. Strozzi's daughter.—Ceilings of San Spirito.—"Descent of the Holy Spirit."—Titian compared with Raphael and Michael-angelo.—Visit to Cadore.—Alessandro Vitelli.

For many years subsequent to the settlement of Titian in Venice, the north-eastern limit of the city was sparsely built over, and the pleasure-seekers, who rowed in their gondolas to the villas of Murano, issued from the more intricate canals by Sant' Apostoli, San Canciano or San Giovanni e Paolo, to find themselves skirting a shore on which green fields were varied with patches of morass and garden enclosures. The long and dreary wharves, which now go by the name of the Fondamenta nuova, were not in existence, and persons living beyond Santa Maria de' Miracoli might be looked upon as country residents rather than towns-people. There was much to attract the lover of the picturesque in a dwelling on the northern outskirts of the city. There was the free bank of the lagoon, with

a view towards Murano; at right angles to which the hills of Ceneda rose beyond the lowland of Mestre, and showed through their gaps the Alps of Cadore. Here too was fresh vegetation, herbage, and trees, something quite different from the palace fringe of the grand canal, or the gloomy shade of the narrow water-courses intersecting the populous quarters. The house at San Samuele, which Titian inhabited from 1516 to 1530, was in the heart of Venice; close to the grand canal, and equally distant from San Marco, or the Rialto bridge.

In 1531, Titian left San Samuele to settle in the north-eastern fields, and thus exchanged the town for a suburban residence. The lease of his new dwelling, which still exists, is dated September the 1st, 1531, and describes it as situate in the *contrada* or parish of San Canciano, in Biri.* When built, in 1527, by the patrician, Alvise Polani, the Casa Grande, as it was then called, stood somewhat back from the banks of the lagoon, upon which its open gardens were laid out. The basements were let to various tenants, having their own access to these holdings, whilst the upper story, composed of one large apartment and several smaller ones, was entered by a terraced lodge, to which there was an ascent from the garden by a flight of steps. From the garden the view extended to Murano and the hills of Ceneda, between which, on favourable days, the peaks of Antelao, the tutelary dolomite of the Cadorines, might be seen against the

* See for this and the following facts, Cadorin, Dello Amore, pp. 83–7.

morning sky. We can fancy such a garden and such a house having peculiar attractions for Titian, who would find there constant memories of his native Alps, rural surroundings, and complete freedom from the noise of traffic. After several renewals of his lease, Titian hired the whole of the Casa Grande in 1536, and in 1549 acquired the title to the land, which he inclosed. It is not unlikely that previous to 1531 he was acquainted with the site, which had not been much built on during the first years of the sixteenth century. Ridolfi says that the distance in the picture of "Peter Martyr" represented the Ceneda hills as seen from Biri, and Zanetti asserts that he saw the round leaved trees of the same picture in the court-yard of Titian's house;* but of this little that is certain has been handed down. We only know that in course of years Titian greatly embellished the place and decorated the garden on the water's edge, and that it was the resort at times of very good company. On the 1st of August, 1540, Priscianese, a well known Latinist, who came to Venice to publish a grammar, was received by Titian, who asked Aretino and Sansovino, and Jacopo Nardi, the historian of Florence, to meet him. A letter appended by Priscianese to the first edition of his grammar in 1540, thus describes the author's impressions:—

* Zanetti, Pitt. Ven. p. 160, and Ridolfi, Mar. i. 219. Zanotto (Guida di Venezia of 1863) says in the *Addenda* at the close of his volume: "The house of Titian was quite lately barbarously restored; the frescos of Corona on the outer wall having been white-washed, and the tree in the neighbouring garden which figures in the 'Peter Martyr,' having bee n uprooted."

"I was invited on the day of the calends of August to celebrate that sort of Bacchanalian feast which, I know not why, is called ferrare Agosto—though there was much disputing about this in the evening—in a pleasant garden belonging to Messer Tiziano Vecellio, an excellent painter as every one knows, and a person really fitted to season by his courtesies any distinguished entertainment. There were assembled with the said M. Tiziano, as like desires like, some of the most celebrated characters that are now in this city, and of ours chiefly M. Pietro Aretino, a new miracle of nature, and next to him as great an imitator of nature with the chisel as the master of the feast is with his pencil, Messer Jacopo Tatti, called il Sansovino, and M. Jacopo Nardi, and I; so that I made the fourth amidst so much wisdom. Here, before the tables were set out, because the sun, in spite of the shade, still made his heat much felt, we spent the time in looking at the lively figures in the excellent pictures, of which the house was full, and in discussing the real beauty and charm of the garden with singular pleasure and note of admiration of all of us. It is situated in the extreme part of Venice, upon the sea, and from it one sees the pretty little island of Murano, and other beautiful places. This part of the sea, as soon as the sun went down, swarmed with gondolas, adorned with beautiful women, and resounded with the varied harmony and music of voices and instruments, which till midnight accompanied our delightful supper.

"But to return to the garden. It was so well laid out and so beautiful, and consequently so much

praised, that the resemblance which it offered to the delicious retreat of St. Agata, refreshed my memory and my wish to see you; and it was hard for me, dearest friends, during the greater part of the evening to realize whether I was at Rome or at Venice. In the meanwhile came the hour for supper, which was no less beautiful and well arranged than copious and well provided. Besides the most delicate viands and precious wines, there were all those pleasures and amusements that are suited to the season, the guests and the feast. Having just arrived at the fruit, your letters came, and because in praising the Latin language the Tuscan was reproved, Aretino became exceedingly angry, and, if he had not been prevented, he would have indited one of the most cruel invectives in the world, calling out furiously for paper and inkstand, though he did not fail to do a good deal in words. Finally the supper ended most gaily." *

Whatever the relations of the humanists with Titian may have been in the earlier part of the century, it is clear that those which existed now were cordial and honourable to the painter. The story of

* The letter, printed in full in Ticozzi (Vecelli, note to p. 79), is in Priscianese's "Gramatica Latina," of which there is a copy in the library of San Marco, with the following imprint: "Stampato in Venezia per Bartolommeo Zanetti nel mese di Agosto MDXL." (Compare Beltrame's Tiziano Vecellio, p. 64.) Aretino, in a letter of Nov. 28, 1540, to Priscianese at Rome, gives him news of the successful introduction of his grammar into some Venetian schools. (Lettere di M. P. A. ii. p. 173^{v}.) Jacopo Nardi, who was one of Titian's guests, dedicated his translation of Livy to the Marquis of Vasto, and Aretino congratulates him on the publication of the book in 1545. See Lett. di M. P. A. i. p. 187; and ii. p. 268.

Priscianese's visit to Titian recalls an episode which illustrates a brilliant and in some respects celebrated circle at Rome. It enables us to contrast the social disposition of the greatest of Venetian masters with the solitary habits of Michaelangelo Buonarroti. Priscianese's letter is addressed to Lodovico Becci and Luigi del Riccio, and introduces us to the company immortalised in the Dialogues of Donato Gianotti. Del Riccio, a poet who frequently corrected and often transcribed Michaelangelo's sonnets, is walking in company with Antonio Petreo, and meets Buonarroti coming out of the Capitol in Donato's company. The latter appeals to the sculptor as a "Dantist" to settle a dispute as to the time spent by Dante in visiting the infernal regions and purgatory. A debate ensues in which Michaelangelo disclaims the knowledge required to answer so intricate a question, but shows his profound study of early Florentine literature. The hour grows late, and del Riccio proposes an adjournment to dinner and a fresh meeting at supper in the rooms of Priscianese. Michaelangelo asks, is this the man whom he has heard commended for writing in Tuscan the rules of Latin grammar; and del Riccio answers in the affirmative, pressing the sculptor to join the party. Buonarroti refuses, on the plea that society is a burden involving a loss of power which is better employed in creating original works.*

* See "De' Giorni che Dante consumò nel cercare l' Inferno," &c. Dialogo di Messer Donato Gianotti, republished at Florence in 1859; or extracts from the Dialogue in Cesare Guasti's "Rime di M. Buonarroti," 4to, Florence, 1863, pp. xxvii. xxxi.

The pleasant amenities of convivial meetings which seem a pastime and a relief to Titian, are branded by Michaelangelo as a mistake; and two artists of the highest genius at opposite ends of the peninsula are found to stand at opposite poles of thought and of feeling. In one respect Priscianese's letter excites surprise. He ought, we should think, to have known and settled the dispute as to the Bacchanals of Ferrare Agosto, which are but the Christian substitute for the Feriæ Augustæ, celebrated since the fall of Paganism as the festival of the chains of St. Peter, in the church of San Pietro in Vinculis, at Rome. Even now the 1st of August is familiar to the Romans as the feast of "Ferrare Agosto." *

Those who should wish to visit the house of Titian in our day will find considerable, if not insurmountable difficulties in their way. Some years ago it was still shown to the public, and was minutely examined by the authors of these pages, though even then it was impossible to recognise the original distribution of the apartments, subdivided and whitewashed for modern purposes. But now the garden-staircase and loggia are thrown down, and the dwelling, which was once isolated, is gradually disappearing into the dull uniformity of a row.† Mr. Gilbert, in his charming

* Compare Gregorovius' Geschichte der Stadt Rom., 2nd ed. 8vo, Stuttgardt, 1869, vol. i., notes to p. 206.

† On entering the door in the loggia, to which there was, as stated, an ascent by a flight of steps from the garden, there was another staircase to ascend, leading to the upper story first inhabited by Titian. The principal room, which was of very large size, was subdivided at the north end into several small chambers.

book on Cadore, has justly remarked "that after giving a gondolier a deal of trouble to find that part of the parish of San Canciano called Biri, and still more that part of Biri called 'Campo Tiziano,' the traveller will only discover a narrow court lined by small new-looking houses on one side and closed at the end by a garden door bearing the number 5,526. Let any one," adds Mr. Gilbert, "enter there who can. But if he cannot, let him subsidise a friendly artisan in one of the tall houses overlooking the garden wall. The view from this man's window will discover that probably nothing that was familiar to the eye of the great painter is now visible, excepting the stone cornice, which, running round the house and continued all the length of the row of houses, shows that it was formerly one habitation, the upper story of which formed the roomy studio of Titian. Since his time," Mr. Gilbert continues, "the prospect that once extended far over sea and land has been hopelessly blocked out by a pile of buildings, of which our artisan's dwelling is one, erected between the garden and the shore, if not covering great part of the garden itself, which must, from the descriptions, have been rather extensive, and once certainly reached to the water's edge." *

There is no view towards Murano except through the lane called Calle Colombina. The way to Titian's house from the church of San Canciano is through the "Calle Widman" to the "Campo Rotto."

* Cadore, or Titian's country, *u. s.* pp. 3–5; and compare, for the various leases of Titian's house, Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.* pp. 83, and foll^{s}. Mr. Gilbert republishes Cadorin's drawing of Titian's house, as it existed in 1833.

The truth is, that many changes occurred in Venice after 1540, which contributed to alter the topography of the north-eastern suburbs of the city; and under the influence of these changes, the waters of the lagoons receded from Titian's garden as the sea withdrew from Pisa and Ravenna. The banks were originally cut up into creeks of varying depths, and the approaches by land were insecure, and these evils outweighed the charms which struck Priscianese. In 1546, Cristoforo Sabbadini, a friend of Sansovino, proposed to the Senate to embank the whole of the land from Santa Giustina in the south-east, to Sant' Alvise on the north-west. But the scheme was so vast that it met with serious opposition, and even when reduced to more modest dimensions, and confined to the region between San Francesco della Vigna, and the Creek or Sacco della Misericordia, it failed to find support. In 1588, however, the water bailiff, Girolamo Righetti, suggested to the Senate to undertake the embankment from a point between Santa Giustina and San Francesco, to the church of Santa Catherina; and this project was approved by a public decree of February, 1589. Several sections of the quay were finished before 1593. Most of the creeks were filled up successively. A roadway was made along the waterside. Houses lined the roadway, and thus Titian's dwelling, the chief attraction of which had been its garden and its view, was gradually enclosed, and lost most of its charms.* Yet it remained for many years a favourite

* MS. records in the archives of Venice, collated in a MS. at Cadore by the Abate Cadorin.

haunt of artists. After its sale in 1581, by Pomponio, the worthless son of a great father, it was let to Francesco Bassano, who put an end to his life by throwing himself from the upper windows in a fit of frenzy.* Leonardo Corona subsequently lived and died there;† and it is not without interest to note that Bassano was the man who repainted the "Battle of Cadore," on the ceiling of the Hall of Great Council at Venice, and Corona who copied Titian's original composition for that subject.‡

To the glimpse of Titian's leisure hours which Priscianese affords, we add another from a letter written by Aretino to the canon *in posse*, Pomponio Vecelli. In 1530 Titian had taken his sister Orsa to live with him. In the years that followed, his children, Pomponio, Orazio, and Lavinia, grew apace, and the letter which Aretino wrote on the 26th of November, 1537, shows how these children shared the luxury with which their father had surrounded his home. "Pomponio Monsignorino!" Aretino says, "your father Titian has given me the compliments which you sent me. . . . and in order to show you my liberality, I send a thousand in return, on condition that you give the least of them to your pretty

* July 28, 1591. (See Verci. Pitt. Bassanese, 8vo, Ven. 1775, p. 157.

† Ridolfi, Maraviglie, ii. 297.

‡ Leonardo Corona also painted the outer walls of the house in fresco, but his work has disappeared. Inside the house there were paintings on canvas, attributed to Titian, which represented a frieze of cupids. They were whitewashed and then sold by one of the tenants at the beginning of the present century. See Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.* p. 32.

little brother Orazio, who forgot to let me know what he thinks of the difference between this world and the next. . . . It is time that you should return from the country, where there is no school. . . . So come home, and now that you are twelve years old, you shall write some exercises in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, that will astonish the doctors, as the pictures astonish the artists of Italy which are painted by Messer your father. So no more, but keep yourself warm and in good appetite."*

"Monsignorino," we shall see, became fonder of pleasure than Greek, and instead of astonishing the doctors, shocked an indulgent world by the vices of a spendthrift cloaked by the dress of a priest. But Orazio was put by his father to the easel, and lived with his sister Lavinia to be a solace and support of Titian's old age.

To the luxurious surroundings which made the painter's abode so remarkable, an organ was added in April, 1540. The "canny" Titian was not a man to buy such an instrument with ready money; he proposed to Alessandro "da gli Organi," to exchange the instrument for a portrait of himself, and he punctually performed his part of the contract.† Another portrait of the time is that of Vincenzo Capello, appointed in 1540 to high command in the Venetian fleet, whose figure, encased in burnished armour, long adorned the collection of the Ruzzini family.‡

* Lettere di M. P. A. i. 205.

† 1540, April 7, from Venice. Aretino to Alessandro da gli Organi, Lettere di M. P. A. ii. 140ᵛ, and Ridolfi, Marav. i. 252.

‡ 1540, Dec. 25, Aretino to

In contrast with it, a likeness of Elizabeth Quirini displayed the features of a plump and youthful dame, sister to Girolamo, patriarch of Venice, dear to Bembo for her brother's sake, and celebrated in the sonnets of Giovanni della Casa. All that remains of that celebrated picture is the copper plate of Jos. Canale, representing the lady in a rich dress of silks, and lace with fair hair curled into short locks over a high and vaulted forehead.*

But the most honourable commission with which Titian was entrusted in this year, was that of painting Federico Gonzaga and his wife for Otto Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria. Federico and the Count corresponded in Latin—that being the only language which they both understood; and we still possess the letter which the Mantuan prince addressed in June, 1540, to his German colleague.

"Meam et uxoris meæ imagines curabo fieri manu Titiani pictoris Ex^mi qui Venetiis moratur, ut quam simillimas eas habere possit." †

Molino, with a sonnet in praise of Capello's portrait, Lett. di M. P. A. ii. 190; Ridolfi, Marav. i. 161.

* The portrait of Elizabeth Quirini as engraved by Canale, is turned ¾ to the right. Her hair is plaited and curled; her silk bodice laced over a very full form; the bosom covered with lace in square patterns; the puff sleeves are of stuff trimmed with silk. Round the neck a collar of pearls; in the right hand a pair of gloves. The plate is inscribed, ELISAB. QVIR. A PRÆCLAR. VIRIS CELEBRATA, MDLX. Titiano Vecellio da Cad. pinxit; Jos. Canale, del. and scul. The original was in the Collection of Giovanni della Casa in 1544. (See Bembo to Girolamo Quirini, Aug. 3, 1544, in Bembo, Op. *u. s.* vi. p. 339; or in Bottari's Raccolta, 5, 213.) Della Casa's sonnet to it, beginning, "Ben vegg'io, Tiziano, in forme nuove," is reprinted in Ticozzi's Vecelli, *u. s.* 143. See also Vasari, xiii. 43.

† Copied from the original,

In November the Duke of Bavaria sent to remind the Mantuan court of these portraits, but in the meanwhile Federico Gonzaga had been carried off, leaving the Mantuan possessions to his son Francesco.

It is impossible to look back upon the life of this prince without perceiving that he did more than any other to foster the arts and keep up the dignity of the artists of his time. He will always be remembered as the patron of Giulio Romano, Titian, and a host of minor craftsmen. The galleries which he formed, the palaces which he adorned, were second to none but those of Florence and Rome. Nor is it to be credited that Titian would ever have gained the protection of Charles the Fifth but for his countenance and introduction. Titian was grateful to him for his steady patronage and his generous requital of pictorial labours, and when Federico was buried in the last days of June, the painter went to Mantua to attend the Duke's funeral and pay court to his successor.*

Hardly a year had elapsed since Don Diego de Mendozza succeeded Don Lope de Soria at Venice; yet he had already sat to Titian; and Aretino, with becoming zeal, had penned a sonnet in which he praised the talent of the limner, and sang of the old head on young shoulders which distinguished the high-

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dated June 17, in the Archives of Mantua, by Canon Braghirolli.

* In a letter dated Venice, Nov. 20, to the Marquis of Vasto, Aretino excuses Titian's delay in finishing the picture of the "Allocution" (the Marquis addressing his soldiers), by his necessary absence at Mantua (Lett. di M. P. A. ii. 165ᵛ). But he does not say when Titian's visit to the Gonzagas took place.

born Spaniard. Mendozza was by connection and office a man of considerable influence. He followed the fashion set by his master in patronizing Titian, and was the first nobleman who received Vasari on his arrival at Venice.* His wealth was impartially spent on art and the fair sex; and the lady of his devotion, also portrayed by Titian, had the fortune to be sung by Aretino in the lines:

"Furtivamente Titiano et amore
Presi a gara i pennelli, e le quadrella
Duo essempi han' fatto d' una Donna bella
E sacrati al Mendozza aureo Signore
Ond' egli altier di si divin favore
Per seguir' cotal Dea, come sua Stella;
Con cerimonie apartenenti a quella,
L' una in camera tien, l' altro nel core."†

Vasari describes Titian's Mendozza as a full-length of the greatest perfection.‡ But nothing is known of it now, except that it shared the fate of its companion, the lady of Mendozza's affections. An attempt to connect it with a full-length under Titian's name at the Pitti deserves but little commendation, since if it were proved that this imperfect production was once a fine creation of Titian, it would also prove that modern restorers can utterly destroy the masterpieces of a great painter.§

* Vas. (i. 20) tells how Mendozza gave him 200 ducats for two pictures painted from Michael Angelo's cartoons.

† Lettere di M. P. Aret°, *u. s.*, ii. 314.

‡ Vas. xiii. 33.

§ Pitti, No. 215, canvas, full length, of life size. The figure is that of a man of forty, in black silk vest, short cloak, and hose; the right hand on the hip, the left holding the cloak. In the background of the room is a bas-relief. The head is totally repainted, the rest ill preserved.

Having taken his usual autumnal trip to Cadore, during which he appointed his kinsman Vincenzo Vecelli to the office of a notary,* Titian settled down to work for the winter at Venice, and began labouring seriously at the "Allocution" for the Marquis of Vasto. He had promised that picture early in the previous year, but had only made a large sketch of it when the marquis wrote to complain of the painter's delays. Aretino too had promised to write the life of St. Catherine for the marchioness, but had not done it. Excusing his procrastination on the score of private disappointments, Aretino, in November, penned a letter to Davalos, explaining that Titian's want of punctuality was due to an unforeseen visit to Mantua. But he had already made up for lost time by drawing in Del Vasto and his soldiers with a figure of the boy Francesco Ferrante holding his father's plumed helmet. The likeness, he went on to say, was already admirable, the armour dazzling in its reflections, the boy like Phœbus at the side of Mars.† But all this was mere word painting. The picture was not nearly so far advanced as Aretino said; and in December, whilst sending, on his own account, the life of St. Catherine and a bronze statue of the saint by Sansovino, "the

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To say that the execution recalls Cesare Vecellio or Schiavone, is equivalent to saying that the picture is not by Titian. Yet some bits, such as the hand on the hip and the bas-relief, are almost good enough for Titian.

* Memoria di alcune persone da Tiziano create notai; MS. Jacobi of Cadore. Vincenzo Vecelli was enrolled as a notary by order of the Council of Cadore on the 15th of September, 1540.

† Aretino to Del Vasto, Venice, Nov. 20, 1540, in Lett. di M. P. Aretino, ii. p. 165.

Scourge" also despatched Titian's original sketch in order to silence Del Vasto's complaints.* In February, 1541, we find Titian negotiating with Girolamo Martinengo of Brescia, and promising to paint that nobleman's portrait if he would but send a complete suit of armour to figure in the "Allocution."† The picture was doubtless finished soon after, for when exhibited at Milan it made quite a sensation amongst the crowds which Davalos invited to see it.‡ Its despatch to Spain, and subsequent transfer to the Alcazar of Madrid, remain unexplained; unexplained, likewise, the existence of a similar picture in the Mantuan collection which passed into the gallery formed at Whitehall by Charles the First.§ Even the sketch has disappeared, though it may still perhaps be identified as that which Charles the First purchased during his visit to Spain.‖ Unhappily the Spanish edition of the picture which adorned the Alcazar in the reign of Philip the Fourth (1621), was irretrievably injured by fire and subjected to repainting; and it is only with considerable difficulty that we discover a touch of Titian's brush. Still the composition is clear.

* Aretino to Del Vasto, Venice, Dec. 22, 1540; and the same to Sansovino, Venice, January 13, 1541, in Lett. di M. P. Aret°, ii. pp. 189—191.

† Aretino to Capitan' Palazzo, Venice, Feb. 15, 1541, in Lett. di M. P. A. ii. 193ᵛ.

‡ Marcolini to Aretino, in Lettere a M. P. A., vol. ii., extr. in Ticozzi's Vecelli, p. 122.

§ Bathoe's Cat., *u. s.*, p. 96. The marquis here called Vaugona may be Guido Rangone. The canvas measured 7 ft. 4 in. by 5 ft. 5 in. high.

‖ Bathoe's Catalogue registers this as follows: "Done by Titian, the picture of the Marquis Guasto, containing five half figures so big as the life which the king bought out of an 'Almonedo,'" which means, that the picture was purchased at an auction.

The marquis stands on a low plinth in burnished and damasked armour. With one hand he holds the baton, with the other he gesticulates as he speaks to a company of halberdiers on the ground to the right. A red mantle falls from his shoulders, his cropped hair and beard are black. Near him his son Francesco stands in a green coat and buskins, and holds his father's plumed helmet. But for the daubs on the faces we might perhaps recognize Aretino, who is described by a contemporary as a spectator under the garb of a soldier.* The likeness of del Vasto and his son is lost under copious retouches.† Titian's reward is said to have been an annual pension of fifty scudi on one of his patron's estates.‡ Titian had good reasons for showing zeal in del Vasto's behalf, since it was rumoured that the emperor was coming to revisit the peninsula and inspect his possessions in Italy. After ineffectual negotiation, Charles the Fifth had failed to obtain from the French king the cession of his claims on Milan. Not even Burgundy and the Netherlands which the Emperor tendered in exchange had been found sufficient to tempt Francis the First. Equally vain had been the effort to settle religious differences in the diet of Ratisbon. Charles had spent the spring and summer of 1541 in these negotiations, and now he was bent on seeing how matters stood in Lombardy, resolved to meet the Pope, and prepare

* Marcolini to Aretino, *u. s.*

† The picture is numbered 471 in the Madrid Museum. It is on canvas, m. 2.23 high, by 1.65. See Don Pedro de Madrazo's Catalogue.

‡ Ridolfi, Marav. i. 223.

the fleet which, he fondly hoped, would compensate the loss of Pesth to the Turks by the capture of Algiers. In August he was met in the name of Paul the Third at Peschiera by Ottavio Farnese. Though travelling without state, and as Giustiniani remarks, concealing the majesty of the Empire under the shade of a bad hat and threadbare clothes,* his reception at Milan was regal, and he made a solemn entry into the old capital of the Sforzas with Granvelle and Gaspar Contarini at his side, and accompanied by Davalos, the Prince of Salerno, Lope de Soria, Davila, and the crowd of imperial captains, councillors, and secretaries.† Aretino had hoped that he would be asked to join the solemnity, but having fallen into some temporary disfavour, and being compelled, much against his will, to remain at Venice, he had the more reason for wishing that Titian should witness it, and soothe in his intercourse with the Emperor and his officials any difficulties that might have arisen. Aretino judiciously heralded Titian's coming by letters to some of Charles's generals and secretaries. To the prince of Salerno, who was about to command a division in Algiers, he wrote that Titian would ask him to sit "for an outline of his figure." To Lope de Soria, "that he had asked Titian to do him reverence in his name."‡ Davalos was propitiated by the

* Pietro Giustiniani, Hist. Venetiane, 4to, Ven. 1576, lib. 13, p. 271.

† Albicante, Trattato dell' Intrar a Milano di Carlo V., 4to, Milan, 1541, in Cicogna, Isc. Ven. iv. 665.

‡ Aretino to the Prince of Salerno, Venice, Aug. 13, 1541; and Aretino to Lope de Soria, Venice, Aug. 14, 1541, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, ii. 222^{v} & 223^{v}.

"Allocution" which, we may think, Titian took with him to Milan, and Gian' Battista Torniello was gladdened with the sight of a "Nativity," which for many subsequent years formed the chief ornament of the chapel of St. Joseph in the cathedral of Novarra.* Titian for his part had occasion to paint new portraits and urge his claims on the Emperor's treasury. He received from Charles the Fifth a patent granting him an annuity of 100 ducats payable out of the Milanese treasury.† The length of his stay at Milan has not been ascertained, nor has any detail of his daily avocations been preserved. At home at Venice in the following October, we find him enjoying the usual round of quiet dissipation attendant on mirthful company and fine suppers, the triumvirate, into which Marcolini the bookseller had entered, being turned into a club called the "Academy," where a small but jovial set of "compeers" met either in the rooms at Biri, or in Aretino's palace on the Grand Canal.‡ In the workshop at Biri, there was to be seen, before the

* Torniello had been dissatisfied with a "Nativity" which Titian had done for him. He had sent it back, and Aretino wrote to him on the 6th of August, 1541, that "Titian had repainted the *tavola*, into which he had introduced the protector of his (Torniello's) birthplace (St. Gaudensius of Novarra) in armour, and two angels in place of cherubs." (Compare Lett. di M. P. A. ii. 308ᵛ.) The picture was placed on the high altar of San Giuseppe, in the Duomo of Novarra, where it was seen and described by Lomazzo. (Idea del Tempio, p. 141.) It is not now to be found.

† This patent has not been preserved, but is recited in a later one, to which reference will be made *postea*; but see Gaye, Carteggio, ii. 369.

‡ See Leone Aretino to P. Aretino, Genoa, 23rd of March, 1541, in Lett. a M. P. Aretᵒ, i. 357; and Aretino to Pigna, Oct. 11, 1541, in Lettere di M. P. Arᵉ, ii. 244.

winter closed, a large altarpiece of the "Descent of the Holy Spirit," ordered by the canons of San Spirito in Isola, the same religious community which had employed Titian years before, but was now desirous of more modern masterpieces suited to the splendour of a new church rebuilt by Sansovino.* When the canons were invited to inspect this altarpiece, they protested their unwillingness to take it, and a quarrel began, which we shall see expanding to large proportions, till the influence of the Farnese princes put an end to it.

Carnival time was now approaching, and the gay patricians of the company of the Calza, led by the irrepressible humour of Aretino, planned a grand "apparato" or show, to conclude with the performance of Aretino's new comedy, called the "Talanta." It is characteristic of the peculiar form which art had assumed at Venice, that the pieces required for scenes and show were not entrusted to Venetian painters, and the members of the Calza deputed Aretino to engage artists for this purpose in Tuscany. Aretino naturally thought of patronising one of the craftsmen of his native town, and in this way Vasari first made acquaintance with the city of the lagoons.† A couple of pages in his autobiography give a description of the work which he executed for the carnival company; but the public was informed of the artist's name by a dialogue in the "Talanta," in which the

* Vasari, xiii. 33; Sansovino, Ven. Des. 229.

† Vas. i. 20, xi. 9, and xiii. 34.

principal character was ingeniously made to puff all the friends of the dramatist in a single sentence.

"I am told, am informed, and have seen it written, says Messer Vergolo, that Messer Giorgio d'Arezzo, who is hardly thirty-five, has painted a scene and an *apparato*, which those clever spirits, Titian and Sansovino, greatly admire." *

But Vasari's success was not limited to the perishable canvases of a public show or of theatrical scenes. Since the days of the exhibition of the "Battle of Cadore" in the Hall of Great Council, Titian had kept up his connection with the Cornaro family. He had even been painting as Vasari came, or had caused one of his journeymen to paint, a portrait of Catherine Cornaro, the dead Queen of Cyprus, in the garb of a saint, which numberless artists were afterwards to copy and multiply. He gave the young Aretine an introduction to Giovanni Cornaro; and it was doubtless not without his countenance that Sansovino procured for him the order to decorate San Spirito in Isola.†

* La Talanta commedia di M. P. Aretino composta a petizione de' magnifici signori sempiterni, e recitata dalle lor proprie magnificenze con mirabil superbia di apparato. Vinegia per F. Marcolini, 1542, act i. sc. 3.

† The palace of Giovanni Cornaro at San Benedetto, now Corner-Spinelli, on the Grand Canal, was that in which Vasari laboured, and there he designed the ornament of a ceiling. The canons of San Spirito in Isola, wished him to paint the ceiling canvases, which were afterwards executed by Titian (Vas. xiii. 34). Ridolfi (Maraviglie, i. 198) states that this portrait of Catherine Cornaro was often copied. The finest example ascribed to Titian is that exhibited at the Uffizi in Florence (No. 648, half-length of life size on canvas), where the queen is represented standing turned three-quarters to the left, her eyes to the right, her left hand in the grasp of her right. A crown of

Titian meanwhile had been entering on new and onerous engagements. In May, 1542, he received an

gold, studded with pearls, forms the edging to a turban of silk. A jewelled brooch is fastened at the bosom to a red silk bodice, the sleeves of which are puffed with green damask. Over this a rich surcoat falls, the border of which is strewed with pearls. The face and form are full, plump, and youthful, but finely moulded and of graceful shape; and the attitude is nobly kept and rendered. But the treatment is cold and empty, notwithstanding that some traits of Titianesque execution are apparent in it. The painter in Titian's school of whom we are most reminded, is Marco di Tiziano, yet on the back of the canvas, and re-copied, according to records in the secret archive of the Pitti on July 8, 1773, are the words: "TITIANI OPVS ANNO 1542." The dress and minutiæ are all retouched in the lights; at the queen's elbow is the wheel, round her head on a brown background, the nimbus of St. Catherine. Photograph by Braun.

The same person, turbaned and standing in a room with an open window to the left, is fairly described as C. Cornaro, by Titian, in the Holford Collection. But the treatment is feebler here than at the Uffizi. The same person again, without a head-dress, and holding a garland of flowers, is ascribed to Titian in the collection of the Duke of Wellington in London. It is a copy of life size on canvas, by some imitator of Titian. "The Queen of Cyprus," as St. Catherine, with the palm and wheel, was exhibited under Titian's name as the property of Earl Brownlow, at the Academy, in 1875.

Unlike any of these pieces, and doubtless erroneously called Catherine Cornaro, is a portrait of a lady, more than half length, in possession of Signor Francesco Riccardi, Via Borgo Pignolo at Bergamo; a canvas which, when in the Casa Vincenzo Martinengo Colleoni at Brescia, was engraved in the line series of Sala. The person represented is a portly woman in a red dress, whose chestnut hair is gathered up into a striped bag. She stands full front at the side of a marble plinth, on the face of which her own profile is carved in relief. Her left hand is raised to rest on the slab, the right hanging listless at her side. The regular features of a broad, good humoured, and pinguid countenance, are quite the reverse of queenly. The homely dress is well set and draped, and the whole piece recalls in its general aspect the period when Titian strove with Giorgione for a place in Venetian art. But the canvas is now too much injured to warrant a positive opinion. The hair is new, the eyes and flesh are mostly daubed over, and there is much modern colour to conceal what may in past times have been the work of Titian.

advance of ten ducats to begin the votive picture of the Doge Lando, which was to be placed in the Sala d'Oro.* On the 5th of June he received a sum exactly similar, as an earnest that he would furnish to Domenico Giustiniani an altarpiece for the high altar of the Church of Serravalle.† In the intervals devoted to labours of a lighter kind he painted the portrait of himself, which he purposed to leave as a reminiscence to his children.

Of the numerous portraits which might claim to be that produced by the painter for his descendants, history unhappily gives insufficient account. Records show that a likeness of Titian, registered as an heirloom of the Vecelli of Cadore, was stolen in 1733, and purchased in a mysterious and unaccountable way for the "Duke of Florence." Respectable Cadorines, who visited the Tuscan capital, declared that the picture exhibited in the gallery of the Uffizi was the heirloom in question, and recent historians have repeated the tale without testing its truth.‡ The fact appears to be that there were several portraits of Titian not unlike each other, which passed through the hands of dealers out of Italy; that one came into Rubens' possession,§ whilst another changed owners obscurely, until it reached the gallery of M. Solly, whose treasures now form the Museum of Berlin.

* The document is in Lorenzi, *u. s.*, p. 235.

† See Appendix.

‡ Compare the correspondence of 1733 in Ticozzi's Vecelli, pp. 303–7, with the annotators of Vasari, xiii. p. 34.

§ In Rubens' Inventory (1640) we find "the picture of Titian himselfe, made by himselfe." (Sainsbury, *u. s.*, p. 236.)

The evidence which affirms that the Duke of Florence purchased the stolen portrait of Titian in 1733, may be unimpeachable, yet we must assume that the portrait, so stolen, was never exhibited at Florence, since the Titian now at the Uffizi was bought at Antwerp in 1677, and publicly displayed a short time after.*

The earliest likeness, or rather that which gives Titian the greatest apparent youth, is that of the Belvedere at Vienna. But this is so altered by repainting as now to deny the hand of the master.† Next in point of age, and executed with surprising skill, is that of Berlin, where Titian, with his own hand, has rapidly sketched his manly form, encased in a closely-buttoned doublet, of changing stuff, showing red lake shadows and lights of laky white. His shoulders are covered by a wide pelisse of dark brown cloth, with a collar of brown musk, giving free play to arms sheathed in silvery damask. A broad

* See the correspondence of the Grand Duke Cosimo the Third and Francis Schilders, February to September, 1666—1677, in Gualandi's Nuova Raccolta di Lettere, 8vo, Bologna, 1845, ii. pp. 306–316.

† This picture, a bust on wood, 1 ft. 7 in. high, by 1 ft. 4 in., is No. 48, Room II., 1st Floor, of Italian Schools in the Belvedere Collection. The face is turned to the right, the head covered with a black skull-cap; the fur pelisse, and knight's chain, are similar to those in other portraits of Titian. The flesh parts are altogether repainted, and show at present no trace of Titian's hand. The only part which might do this is the shirt collar, but this is too little to go by. A copy of this portrait, by Teniers, is at Blenheim. There is an engraving by L. Vorsterman, in the Teniers Gallery, and another in Haas's Galerie de Vienne. It is a question whether this may not be the "portrait of Titian by himself" which belonged to the Antiquarian Strada at Venice in 1567. See Stockbauer's Kunstbestrebungen am Bayrischen Hofe, in Quellenschriften, *u. s.*, viii. p. 43.

white shirt collar and a black skull-cap relieve the grand block of a finely chiselled face, decorated with beard and moustache of dubious grey. The hands are as full of life as the movement and the frame. One of them rests with fingers outstretched on the green cloth of a table, the other on the knee. The face is seen at three-quarters to the right, divided into perfect proportions, the forehead high, the brow bold and projecting, the nose of fine cut, shooting, arched from a powerful base, that parts a pair of penetrant eyes of admirable regularity; round the neck are two twists of the chain, which indicates the painter's knightly rank. What distinguishes the head from the rest of the picture is its finished modelling. The sleeves are a mere rubbing of silver grey, the hands a scumble of umber. One can see that the man who painted the picture was of a tough fibre, and eminently fitted to represent himself in the form in which he is made to appear. The eye and action reveal the same headlong fire and overflow of spirit that characterised Michaelangelo; and as we picture to ourselves the sculptor hammering out the chips with dust and din, so we picture to ourselves Titian dashing off this likeness of himself, expressing his meaning, here with a rubbed pigment, there with an indication of outline, now with a dash of colour, making out the shape in lighter or darker tone of red and black on the neutral stretch of the ground, then with a touch, leaving a little hill of light sparkling as a diamond in the eyes and finger tips. But having done this, a more sober, laborious mood supervenes;

the face is kneaded and modelled into shape, and finished in a russet key.*

From this masterly piece, which time has unhappily injured, there can be no doubt the likeness of the Uffizi—whoever painted it—was taken. In the main the features are the same as those of Berlin. The hands alone differ; but the distinctive quality of the Florentine example is its finish. The black skull-cap of the study is exchanged for one of a deep but gayer blue. The knight's chain, with the double eagle pendent from it, is fully made out. The left hand, holding a pallet, is well shaped and finely detached, the dress complete. Yet the surfaces have been abraded or changed to such an extent by time and repainting that one can hardly decide whether the picture was executed by Titian or Marco Vecelli.†

Many years later, perhaps in 1562, when—Vasari says—Titian again took a likeness of himself, the noble portrait of the Madrid Museum was brought to

* This canvas, a half length on a brown rubbed ground, was in a very bad state till regenerated in April, 1874, by the Pettenkofer process. It is now very bright, but one still sees where it suffered abrasion. The canvas is No. 163 in the Berlin Museum, 3 ft. 2 in. high by 2 ft. 5 in. Injured by rubbing off of its final glazes, it shows a "pentimento" at the right ear, and the flesh looks somewhat more monotonous than we expect to find it in a perfect Titian. From a passage in Maier's Imitazione pittorica, 8vo, Venice, 1818, p. 333, we gather that this picture once belonged to Cicognara.

† No. 384 in the Uffizi; this canvas only shows Titian to the waist. There are strong marks of abrasion in various parts, and particularly on the forehead, where also there are heavy retouches. Large spots of new colour disfigure the pelisse and arm to the right. The whole surface is dulled by modern tinting. Engraved by Agostino Caracci.

perfection, in which we see the artist hoary with age, yet still lithe and erect, and, as ever, noble in bearing. The features have grown thin and cornered; the beard and hair are whiter than the linen of the collar, but the vigour of the old man's frame is still apparent in the hawk's eye which glistens from out of the hollow orbit, overshadowed by its silver-streak of brow; and the black skull-cap marks a contrast not only with the hair on the temples, but with flesh full of pulsant life. Here Titian is almost in profile to the left, but wears the time-honoured collar, doublet, and pelisse. In the right hand he holds a brush, the emblem of his art. The features appear to have gained in dignity what they have lost in youth; and the face, though it is retouched here and there, is full of character, and delineated with all the mastery and delicacy of gradations of which Titian's pencil was capable.*

Once or twice again we find the likeness repeated in a "St. Matthew" at the Salute, or as adjuncts to larger compositions, in the "Madonna" of Pieve, or the "Pietà" of the Venice Academy, which is the last

* This portrait, a life-sized bust on canvas, M. 0·86 h. by 0.65, is No. 477 in the Madrid Museum, and as early as the reign of Philip the Fourth of Spain (1621—65), hung in the Alcazar. It is not free from retouching. Photograph by Laurent. In 1542 Alphonse François engraved it from a replica (? copy), at that time in possession of M. Chaix d'Est-Ange, in Paris. Vasari says (xiii. p. 34) that Titian painted his own likeness about the time when he executed the ceiling of the Salute (1543). He adds (xiii. 44) that he painted his own likeness, "as before stated," in 1562, leaving us in doubt as to whether Titian produced one or two likenesses. Two seems more probable than one.

creation of the master's hand. Other artists immortalized this painter also, Paul Veronese in the "Marriage of Cana" at the Louvre, Palma Giovine in the ceiling of the Oratory of San Fantino; but there are numerous pictures in addition which represent the master in converse with a friend, and these are everywhere assumed to be by Titian. There may have been originals from which they were taken. In no case are they genuine, nor is it even certain that the persons represented are correctly designated. In a canvas at Cobham Hall, the well-known form of Titian is accompanied by that of a bearded man called Francesco Zuccato.* In a canvas at Windsor Castle, of which there is also a replica at Cobham Hall, we find him in company of a senator miscalled Aretino. It is natural to guess at the names of men known to have been familar with Titian, and the guess may be justified as regards Zuccato. The so-called Aretino at Windsor is the counterpart of "A Senator" by Titian in the collection of Lord Elcho, a fine delineation of a man of grave aspect, whose glance is not less spirited because coupled with a bony shape, dry flesh, and sparse hair and beard of pepper and salt quality. Titian here threw the whole

* The canvas at Cobham Hall, called "Titian and Zuccato," represents the painter at a table, with a bearded man speaking to him. The so-called Zuccato is on the right side of the picture, laying his right hand on Titian's shoulder. Titian rests his right hand on the green cloth of a table, and holds a sheet of paper. Judging of the painter from the thin pigments and rapid decision of brush work, one might guess him to be Tintoretto, or an imitator of Tintoretto. Hasty handling, neglected form, and untransparent colour, are not characteristic of Titian.

energy of his talent into the balance to produce with freedom a life-like presentation; but the model was not Aretino, whose flesh and fat never abandoned him at any period of his existence.*

Of one portrait noted by historians we have no present knowledge. It belonged to the Renier collection in the 17th century, and represented Titian drawing with one hand on a portfolio, and a pencil in the other; in the background the Venus of Medici. The description equally suits the picture and an engraving by Giovanni Bello, for which Aretino wrote a sonnet in 1550.† It gives a less characteristic view of Titian than the later print of Odoardo Fialetti, or that miscalled "Titian and his Mistress," in which the grey-bearded artist is shown laying his hand on the waist of his daughter, a copper-plate which

* The canvas at Windsor Castle is stated to have been in the collections of Charles I. and James II. It represents Titian in his pelisse turned to the right, and a bearded man to the right showing Titian a sheet of paper. This man (who is now supposed to be the Chancellor Franceschi) is dressed in red, is bare-headed, and wears the stole of a Venetian senator. Both men are of life size, and seen to the waist. They coincide with Ridolfi's description of figures in a picture in the collection of Domenico Ruzzini at Venice, representing, as Ridolfi affirmed (Marav. i. 261), Titian and Francesco del Mosaico (Zuccato). But here the execution is that of a painter of the 17th century, whose style recalls Odoardo Fialetti. See Bathoe's Catalogue, *u. s.*, where the picture is numbered 11. The counterpart of this canvas at Cobham Hall is also a work of the 17th century.

Lord Elcho's portrait, a life-size bust, in red vest and stole, bears remnants of an inscription which has become illegible from abrasion.

† Sansovino, Ven. Desc., p. 377; Campori, Cataloghi, pp. 442, 443; and Lettere di M. P. Aretino, v. 288.—In the Canonici Collection at Ferrara in 1632, there was a "portrait of Titian," a drawing from Titian's own hand. (Campori, Cataloghi, p. 126.)

probably dates after 1555, when Lavinia Vecelli was married to Cornelio Sarcinelli.*

Portraits of himself were not more than Titian's pastime. His serious labours were the votive picture in honour of Doge Lando, for which payments were registered as late as May 31, 1543; portraits of Ranuccio Farnese, and the daughter of Roberto Strozzi; and — eminent as works of mark in the master's career—the ceiling canvases of the church of San Spirito.

The votive picture of Doge Lando perished in the fire of 1577, and no description of it survives.† It is still doubtful whether the portrait of Ranuccio Farnese was preserved. That of the daughter of Roberto Strozzi now adorns the palace at Florence, which the Strozzi at the period of which we are treating were precluded from inhabiting. Filippo Strozzi is remembered in Florentine history as the great party chieftain who went into exile with those of his countrymen who refused to acknowledge Alessandro de' Medici. He led the gallant but ill-fated band of patriots which strove, in 1537, to prevent the accession of Duke Cosimo. He took his own life in prison when informed that Charles the Fifth had given him up to the vengeance of the Medici. His sons Piero and Leo fought with the French for Italian supremacy, whilst Roberto spent his life partly at Venice, partly in France and at Rome, consuming

* See *postea*. Odoardo Fialetti's print is attached as a frontispiece to Titianello's anonymous Life of Titian.

† The records are in Lorenzi, *u. s.*, pp. 235, 238—241.

some of the wealth of "the richest family" in Italy in patronising painters and men of letters.* His daughter was a mere child when she sat to Titian; but the picture which he produced is one of the most sparkling displays of youth that ever was executed by any artist, not excepting those which came from the hands of such portraitists as Rubens or Van Dyke. The child is ten years old, and stands at the edge of a console, on which her faithful lapdog rests. Her left hand is on the silken back of the favourite. Her right holds a fragment of the cake which both have been munching. Both, as if they had been interrupted, turn their heads to look straightway out of the picture—a movement seized on the instant from nature. It is a handsome child, with a chubby face and arms, and a profusion of short curly auburn hair;—a child dressed with all the richness becoming an heiress of the Strozzi, in a frock and slippers of white satin, girdled with a jewelled belt, the end of which is a jewelled tassel, the neck clasped by a necklace of pearls supporting a pendant. The whole of the resplendent little apparition relieved in light against the russet sides of the room, and in silver grey against the casement, through which we see a stretch of landscape, a lake and swans, a billowy range of hills covering the

* Francesco Sansovino dedicated to Roberto Strozzi his translation of Berosus, for which Roberto made him a present of a gold cup, which he left by will to his widow. See Cicogna, Isc. Ven. iv. 39. Strozzi was also well known to Michaelangelo, and negotiated with him for an equestrian statue of Henry II. of France, in the name of Catherine de' Medici. See Catherine to Guiducci, Oct. 1560, in Gaye, Carteggiii. 40.

bases of more distant mountains, and a clear sky bedecked with spare cloud. The panelled console against which she leans is carved at the side with two little figures of dancing Cupids, and the rich brown of the wood is made richer by a fall of red damask hanging. One can see that Titian had leisure to watch the girl, and seized her characteristic features, which he gave back with wonderful breadth of handling, yet depicted with delicacy and roundness equally marvellous. The flesh is solid and pulpy, the balance of light and shadow as true as it is surprising in the subtlety of its shades and tonic values, its harmonies of tints rich, sweet, and ringing; and over all is a sheen of the utmost brilliance. Well might Aretino, as he saw this wondrous piece of brightness, exclaim: "If I were a painter I should die of despair . . . but certain it is that Titian's pencil has waited on Titian's old age to perform its miracles." *

Equal in technical skill, but superior to the Strozzi heirloom as embodying higher laws of the pictorial craft, the ceiling canvases of San Spirito, to which we may add the four Evangelists and the four Doctors, and the later "Descent of the Holy Spirit," executed

* Aretino to Titian, from Venice, July 6, 1542, in Lett. di M. P. Aret°, ii. p. 288ᵛ. The picture is on canvas; the figure of life size. On a tablet high up on the wall to the left we read, ANNOR X. MDXLII, and on the edge of the console to the right, TITIANVS F. Old varnish covers and partly conceals the beauty of this picture, which is retouched on the girl's forehead and elsewhere; but the surface generally is well preserved. At the beginning of the present century the portrait was in the palace of Duke Strozzi at Rome. (Bottari, Raccolta, vol. iii. p. 107.) It was engraved by Dom. Cunego at Rome in 1770.

for the same church, remain to us as representative examples of the development of Venetian art in the middle of the sixteenth century. All these pictures are striking, either as individual displays of thought or as compositions. All are remarkable for boldness of conception and handling; none more so than the ceiling-pieces, which convey a sense of distance as between the spectator and the object delineated quite beyond anything hitherto attempted by Venetian artists. Where Abraham prepares to sacrifice Isaac, and is stopped by the angel, the whole group is foreshortened, as if the scene were presented on an eminence to which we necessarily look up. But Titian is too clever to foreshorten the group without foreshortening the ground; and this he indicates by a perspective view of a mound on which Abraham's altar stands, the projection of which partly conceals the patriarch's legs, hides all but the head of an ass, and leaves an interlace of lines to be seen upon the blue of the sky. Poised in this space the angel checks with lightning speed the stroke that is about to fall on Isaac. The full swing of the blow is, as it were, magnetically arrested; and Abraham turns sharply, nay, angrily, towards the messenger of heaven, his hand still lying heavy on the head of Isaac, bound and kneeling on the altar. The breeze blows freshly the while over the range and throws the drapery into picturesque surges.*

* A large drawing, pen and sepia, in the Albertina at Vienna, is supposed to be the original sketch for this picture. It is not

Cain, in a scant dress of hides, tramples with tremendous force on the hip of Abel, who falls with outstretched arms as the murderer wields the club over the stumbling form. The daring of the foreshortening is greater than the power to realize it. But a sense of herculean strength and concentrated muscular force is conveyed. Though strained and in many ways incorrect, the group is still imposing, because where the contour is false and articulations are loosely rendered, the defects lie hid under magic effects of colour, and light and shade, and such life and motion are displayed that one thinks not the artist but the being he depicts is in fault. But not a little of the magic of this piece is due to the subtle way in which a smoke of livid shades is driven to leeward of the altar on which Abel's sacrifice is burning.*

The prostrate form of Goliath in the third ceiling canvas looks gigantic as it lies in death on the sloping crest seen here again from below. David, slightly further back, in his green shepherd's tunic gathers himself together, lifts his arms in thanksgiving; and the sky seems to open and shed its light on him as he strains with his whole being towards heaven. The body lies headless but grandiose in its strength, an inert mass disposed with consummate skill; the head hard by, and near it the giant's sword stuck into the earth. The whole scene is illumined

original. Engraved by J. Mᵉ Mitellus, 1669, and Lefèbre, G. V. Haecht and Gottf. Saiter.

* Engraved by Jos. Mᵉ Mitellus, 1669, by Lefèbre, and reversed by Gottf. Saiter.

weirdly by the opening in the sky, the rays from which do not pierce the gloom on the horizon.*

Though painted after 1543, and in place of an older canvas which the canons of San Spirito had refused; though executed at a time when Titian's pencil was wielded with more facility than in 1542, the "Descent of the Holy Spirit" is less interesting than the "Cain," the "David," or the "Sacrifice," because it is tamer in subject, and has suffered more from time and repainting. The "Marys" and "The Twelve" are in a vaulted room, the panellings of which are radiant from the light shed by the dove that hovers over the scene, and the cloven tongues of fire that rest on the heads of the elect. In the centre the Virgin with strongly marked gesture gives thanks, the Apostles and others round her displaying their feelings with demonstrative eagerness in various ways, kneeling, sitting, or standing. In no earlier work of the master is the impression more fully conveyed, that nature has been caught in a quick and instant manner and transferred to the canvas with sweeps of pastose pigment, and broad stretches of light and shade. No contours are seen. Everything finds its limit without an outline, by help of rich and unctuous tone, rare modelling, and subtlest gradations of colour. Bold, free, and expressive, with the boldness and freedom which Tintoretto and Schiavone admired and envied; the handling betokens a mastery altogether unsurpassable.† In

* Engraved by Jos. M^a Mitellus, 1669, by Lefèbre, and reversed by Gottf. Saiter.

† A composition much in the spirit of this at the Salute is drawn in pen and sepia on a

their more limited sphere again, the "Four Doctors" and "Four Evangelists" are worthy complements of a series which would be remarkable at any time and in any place. Models, or imitations of objects, are no longer in question. Titian is an independent creator, whose art realizes beings instinct with a life and individuality of their own. His figures are not cast in the supernatural mould of those of Michaelangelo, at the Sixtine, they are not shaped in his sculptural way, or foreshortened in his preternatural manner. They have not the elegance of Raphael, nor the conventional grace of Correggio, but they are built up as it were of flesh and blood, and illumined with a magic effect of light and shade and colour which differs from all else that was realised elsewhere by selection, outline, and chiaroscuro. They form pictures peculiar to Titian, and pregnant with his—and only his—grand and natural originality.*

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sheet ascribed to Titian in the Museum of Florence, but the execution is obviously more modern than that of Titian. The picture is engraved by N. R. Cochin.

* Compare Scanelli (Microcosmo, 216), who places Titian here above Michaelangelo; Vasari (xiii. 34), who calls the ceiling pieces "bellissime;" and Ridolfi (Marav. i. 227–8). The "Cain," the "Abraham," and "David," are now in the ceiling of the great Sacristy of the Church of the Salute; the doctors and evangelists in the ceiling of the choir behind the high altar, St. Matthew being a portrait of Titian himself with a brush in his hand. The descent of the Holy Spirit on the altar of chapel 4 is greatly damaged, especially in the upper part, by repainting. That it was executed after all the others in the church is clear from the style. In the ceiling-pieces, which are large rectangular canvases, the figures are above life size. In the sacrifice of Abraham, the patriarch is dressed in an orange tunic and green mantle, the angel in yellow and violet, Isaac in lake. The angel's left foot is injured. In the "David and Goliath," the giant lies with his shoulders to the spectator, in a

Writing in 1544, to Cardinal Farnese, Titian alludes with some pride to the canvases of San Spirito, and claims in the following letter countenance and protection.

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE.

"I have an action pending before the Legate* here against the brothers of San Spirito, of whom I hear that they mean to tire me out by delays. Their purpose is to obtain a commission or brief, by which my cause shall be transferred to another judge, who is their friend. I beg your Reverend Lordship, in remembrance of my services, and in view of the importance of the case, to give Monsignor Guidiccione to understand that he may not pass anything contrary to me, but trust to the goodness and sufficiency of Monsignor the Legate, so that the brothers shall not have it in their power to ill-use me, and create delays contrary to duty and justice; the matter being public at Venice, where everyone knows that these brethren are old and certain debtors to me for my works.

"Your Rev[d] and Ill[s] Lordship's servant,

"*From* VENICE, *December* 11, 1544. "TITIANO."†

Titian was either himself litigious in his old age, or he had to do with litigious people. A ducal letter of April 20, 1542, exists, in which execution is issued in

brown toned panoply; David is in yellow and green. The whole canvas is much injured, especially in the upper part. But all the compositions are damaged more or less by old varnishes, which have dimmed and dulled the colours, and taken away their freshness.

* The legate was Titian's friend, Giovanni della Casa.

† From the original in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.*, note to p. 6.

his name against one Giovanni Battista Spinelli, who had been cast in an action for debt, and ordered to pay him forty-eight ducats, and five grossi, and costs of ten lire and some soldi.* Sharp in the recovery of his dues, Titian was equally clever in directing his worldly affairs, and laying out his money at interest. A contract of March 11, 1542, determines the sale of a share in a mill at Ansogne of Cadore, the seller being Vincenzio Vecelli, the buyers Titian and Francesco Vecelli.† The corn stores of Cadore were low in 1542. Titian obtained a concession of import from Ceneda and other places; and stored the Cadorine *fondachi* with grain, for which he received payment in acknowledgments of interest-bearing debt from the community of Cadore.‡

As he came down from his native hills at the close of autumn, he met at Conegliano Alessandro Vitelli, the gaoler of Filippo Strozzi, the servant of the Medici, now a general of the king of the Romans, returning from the Turkish war in Hungary. The *condottiere* sent greetings through Titian to Aretino, who sent in return a letter not less laudatory nor less full of incense than one written a few months before to Piero Strozzi. Titian, who shortly before had painted the daughter of Roberto Strozzi, is now put forward as eager to portray the hereditary foe of the Strozzi family.§

* M. S. Jacobi of Cadore.
† Ibid. ‡ Ciani, *u. s.*, ii. 271.
§ Aretino to Alessandro Vitelli, from Venice, Dec. 1542, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, iii. 20; and Aretino to Pietro Strozzi, from Venice, March 11, 1542. Ibid. ii. 252ᵛ.

CHAPTER III.

Titian and the Farnese Family.—Portrait of Ranuccio Farnese.—Offer of a Benefice and proposals of service to Titian.—History and policy of the Farnese Princes.—Cardinal Alessandro.—Titian accepts the invitation of the Farnese.—Visits Ferrara, Bologna, and Bussé.—He refuses an offer of the Piombo.—His Portraits of Paul III., Pier Luigi, and Alessandro Farnese.—Family of Danna, and the great Ecce Homo at Vienna.—The Assunta of Verona.—Renewed correspondence with Cardinal Farnese.—Letter of Titian to Michaelangelo.—Altar-piece of Roganzuolo.—Portraits of the Empress, and Duke and Duchess of Urbino.—Court of Urbino, and Sperone's Dialogues.—Portraits of Daniel Barbaro, Morosini, Sperone, and Aretino.—Titian's relations with Guidubaldo II.—Guidubaldo opposes Titian's Journey to Rome, which is favoured by Girolamo Quirini.—Guidubaldo gives Titian escort to Rome.—Meeting of Titian with Sebastian del Piombo, Vasari, and Michaelangelo.—Jealousy of Roman Artists.—Pictures executed at Rome: Danae.—Contrast between Titian and Correggio, and Titian and Buonarroti.—Titian and the Antique.—Portraits of Paul III., Ottavio, and Alessandro Farnese.

RANUCCIO FARNESE, whose portrait Titian painted in 1542, was the third son of Pier Luigi, the natural child of Paul the Third. Pier Luigi married, at the age of sixteen, Gerolima Orsini, daughter of Luigi, Count of Pitigliano, and by her had five children: — Alessandro, born October 7th, 1520, made a cardinal in 1534; Vittoria, married June 4th, 1547, to Guidubaldo, the second Duke of Urbino; Ottavio, married to Margaret, a child of Charles the Fifth, and widow of Alessandro de' Medici; Orazio, married in 1547, to Diana, natural

daughter of Henry the Third of France; and Ranuccio, born 1531, Archbishop of Naples in 1544, and Cardinal in 1545. Though Ranuccio was but a boy when he first came to Venice, he was already prior *in commendam* of St. John of the Templars, and being a youth of parts, was sent through a course of classics at the University of Padua. His departure from Rome was duly announced by Cardinal Bembo to his friends the Quirinis;* and he was guided or accompanied at Venice by Marco Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, Andrea Cornaro, Bishop of Brescia; and Gian-Francesco Leoni, the humanist who belonged to the Academy of "Virtu" founded at Rome by Claudio Tolomei. Bembo and Quirini—it is probable—induced Ranuccio to visit Titian, who thus acquired the patronage of the powerful house of Farnese.† Ranuccio's likeness was finished about midsummer of 1542, and was thought the more admirable because the young "prior" had not been able to give the painter long or frequent sittings.† We might plausibly assume, since no trace of such a work has been found in the inventories of Parma and Naples, that the likeness was cast away at an early period, and hopelessly lost; yet if we should venture on a conjecture, it may be that Ranuccio's features have been handed down to us in the portrait of a "young Jesuit," now preserved in the Gallery of Vienna. This curious picture represents a boy in a dark silk dress, with one

* Card. Bembo to Lisbetta Quirini, from Rome, Aug. 27, 1541, in Bembo. Op. vol. viii. p. 132. Girolamo Quirini was at this time patriarch of Venice.

† Ronchini Relazioni, *u. s.* p. 2.

hand on his breast, and the other holding a glove and a couple of arrows. The head is raised, the eye turned towards heaven; and the impression created is that of a childish ecstasy, produced by causes to which the figure itself gives no clue. On close examination it appears that very little of Titian's work, except some parts about the ear and cheek of the boy, has been preserved; a large piece has been added to the left side of the canvas, and the hand and arrows look like modern repaints. Some mysterious agency has thus apparently changed the original form of the piece. By a fortunate combination of circumstances the key to the mystery has been furnished in a curious and unforeseen manner. The "young Jesuit" of Vienna reappears without the arrows in a picture of the Berlin Museum, where he is seen standing at a table, on which some books are lying, and the cause of his ecstasy is explained by the attitude and gesture of a bearded man near him, who points with the fore finger of his right hand towards heaven. We have thus at Vienna the fragment of a composition of which the whole is displayed in a copy at Berlin. If we find a second fragment to match the first, the mystery is cleared up. But the second fragment exists. The figure of the bearded man hangs in the Gallery of Vienna, under the name of "St. James the Elder, by Titian;" and as in the one case a hand and arrow have been introduced to deceive the spectator, so in the other the hand which should merely point to heaven is made to grasp a staff. We may presume that before these two fragments were parted

they represented Ranuccio Farnese taking a lesson from his preceptor Leoni.*

The patriarch of Aquileia, Cornaro, and Leoni were all so pleased with the work that they gave Titian a formal invitation to the papal court, which they renewed with pressing insistence in the following September. Knowing that the painter was hard to move, but aware that he was accessible to offers of church preferment for his son, Leoni set the only bait which he thought Titian would be likely to take, and tendered the interest of the house of Farnese to obtain for Pomponio a new benefice. Titian eagerly caught the proffered morsel, and even went so far as to induce Leoni to believe he would take service with Cardinal Alessandro.†

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* The two canvases at Vienna —"The Young Jesuit," No. 30, in the 2nd room, 1st floor, Italian Schools; "St. James the Elder," No. 18, in the same room—were both of the same size, but have been changed by patching and piecing. The Jesuit in profile to the left, is patched at the left side; St. James at three-quarters to the right, is patched at the base and right side. The first is 2 ft. 9½ in. by 2 ft. 1 in.; the second, 2 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in. Both are rubbed down, weather-beaten, discoloured, and, in many parts, repainted; but bits here and there reveal the hand of Titian. St. James shows traces of a nimbus of rays in the background about the head. He wears a red vest and a dark pelisse, with a collar originally of fur. The black silk of the Jesuit's dress is relieved at the neck by a linen collar. A copy of the St. James, by Teniers, is at Blenheim. The figure itself, engraved by L. Vorstermann, is in the Teniers' Gallery. The Jesuit is engraved as "St. Louis of Gonzaga," by J. Troyon. Photograph by Miethke and Wawra.

The picture at Berlin, No. 170 of the Catalogue, is a canvas 2 ft. 9 in. high by 3 ft. 4 in., bought at the sale of the Solly Collection, attributed to Bernardino Pordenone, and much repainted. Behind the boy is the sky, seen through a square opening, in which the bough and large leaves of a tree are seen. The painter seems to be Cesare Vecellio.

† See *postea*.

None of the Popes of the 16th century are free from the charge of nepotism, and when nepotism of the worst form is in question the name of Alexander the Sixth naturally suggests itself. But Paul the Third was hardly less remarkable in this respect than Rodrigo Borgia. His eldest son Pier Luigi, though guilty of many crimes, was endowed successively with the duchies of Castro, Parma, and Piacenza. Pier Luigi's sons Alessandro and Ranuccio, and his nephew Guid'-Ascanio Sforza, were all made cardinals at fourteen, and Ottavio, who married early the widow of Alessandro de' Medici, would have been invested with the duchy of Milan, but that Ferrando Gonzaga, who hated the Farneses, and Diego Mendozza, who disliked them, dissuaded Charles the Fifth from taking so dangerous a step. At the very time when Ranuccio was sitting to Titian at Venice, the eddies of politics had brought the family policy of the Farnese princes to the surface. The old struggles of France and Austria had been renewed, and the adverse and irreconcilable claims of Protestants and Catholics had become a subject of grave and statesmanlike meditation. Charles the Fifth having failed in his expedition against Algiers in 1541, had also suffered a check from the Turks at Pesth in 1542. In the spring of 1543 he was in the perilous position of having to repel a French and Turkish invasion of Italy, without being sure of adequate support from the Pope. Paul the Third, a trimmer at this time, had one grandson at the Emperor's court, another in the camp of the French king. He was watching,

catlike, for an occasion to aggrandize his house. His policy as Pope, was to favour Francis the First, who was distant, and not pledged to the Protestants. But he would have sacrificed his policy had it been necessary to the promotion of his children, and on this point he was prepared to negociate.

His anxiety to meet the Emperor was as great as the Emperor's wish to meet him; and he left Rome early in April for Piacenza, that he might be near Charles, who was coming from Spain, and intended to land at Geneva; on the 15th of April, Paul went to Castell' Arquato on a visit to his daughter Constanza, whose son Guid'-Ascanio he had raised to the purple. From thence he rode to Brescello, where, on the 22nd, he found barges to float him down to Ferrara. Here he stayed but a short time, returning quickly to Bologna, from whence he dispatched Pier Luigi to Genoa to meet Charles the Fifth. But Charles was in an ill-humour, grumbled at Paul's trimming, refused to proceed to Bologna, and proposed to meet the Pope at Parma. A secret intimation was, in the meanwhile, given that a large sum of money might induce the Emperor to transfer the Duchy of Milan to Ottavio Farnese, and on this basis Paul determined to treat. Ottavio, on the one hand, was ordered to Pavia to meet his wife, Margaret of Austria; Pier Luigi was sent out of the way to Castro, whilst the Pope, leaving Bologna, proceeded to Parma, and made his entry into that city with twenty-one cardinals and an equal number of bishops on the 15th of June. The Emperor on that day lay at Cremona. On the 20th

Paul rode to Busseto, and there he was joined by Charles on the 21st. The whole suite of Pope and Kaiser lodged in the narrow *castello* governed by Girolamo Pallavicini. Granvelle as usual presided at the negociations. He proposed to cede Milan to Ottavio Farnese for 300,000 scudi, on condition that Charles should keep the castles of Milan and Cremona. After five days' haggling the potentates failed to agree. The Pope turned his face to the South, and Charles, in dudgeon, passed on towards Germany.* In the period which elapsed between the arrival of Paul the Third at Ferrara and Busseto, and his departure from Bologna, Titian was the guest of Cardinal Farnese.

Of the wealth and splendour of this young and influential prelate when he resided at Rome, we have a notion from Vasari, who states that, on numerous occasions, he went to look at the illustrious Cardinal Farnese supping, attended by Molza, Annibal Caro, Messer Gandolfo, Messer Claudio Tolomei, Messer Romolo Amaseo, Giovio, and other literary and gallant gentlemen who formed his court.† It was at one of these suppers that the Cardinal asked Vasari to sketch the lives of the painters which Giovio, Caro, and others were to write. To him Leoni addressed himself in matters relating to Titian as follows:

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* For the facts in the text, consult the general histories of the period: Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte, vol. iv.; and Affo's Life of Pier' Luigi Farnese, edited by Pompeo Litta, 8vo, Milan, 1821, pp. 45–50.

† Vasari: His own Life, i. 29, 30.

LEONI TO CARDINAL FARNESE.

"Titian was prevented by some interruption [from continuing a discourse as to his visit to the Farneses], and as I had to leave Venice on the following morning, he begged I would visit him on my return and resume the subject, upon which he wished to enter fully. Now, in so far as I can form an opinion, I think from the words that were used between us, he would resolve to come and take service in the house of your Reverend and Illustrious Lordship; and I think, too, he would trust entirely to your courtesy and liberality, if you should acknowledge his talents and labours by the promotion of his son. It has not been in my power to visit Venice since, and I thought it good to give your Lordship notice that this man is to be had, if you wish to engage him. Titian, besides being clever, seemed to us all mild, tractable, and easy to deal with, which is worthy of note in respect of such exceptional men as he is.

"*September* 22, 1542" * [probably from Padua].

An invitation to join the Farneses in their progress from Rome was issued to the painter early in April, 1543. Aretino wrote to Cosimo de' Medici on the 10th that the Pope had sent for Titian.† Agostino Mosti saw him on the 22nd at the festivities of Paul's entrance into Ferrara.‡ He accompanied the Court to

* From the original in Ronchini, Relazione, *u. s.*, p. 2.

† Aretino to Cosimo I., April 10, 1543. Gaye Carteggio, ii. 311.

‡ "In Piazza (at Ferrara) trovammo uno infinito numero di gente . . . da Venezia ne ho conosciuto una gran parte, non pur

Busseto, where Charles the Fifth gave him a likeness from which he was to paint a portrait of the Empress.* He then went on to Bologna, where he stayed till the middle of July. As usual the marvellous resemblance and beauty of his portraits were the subject of every conversation. Aretino had been sent with a deputation of the Signoria to greet the Sovereign on his arrival at Verona. He first wrote a piteous letter to Titian, bewailing his hard fate at being forced to exchange the repose of a gondola for the jolt of a horse, urging Titian to rid himself of "the priests" and come home to Venice, which he, for his part, would never leave again.† He subsequently wrote in better spirits, charmed by the Emperor's reception, who condescended to shake hands with him, allowed him to ride at his side, and praised the pictures of Titian.‡ "Fama," he further observed, "took pleasure in publishing the miracle which the painter had performed in producing the Pope's portrait, though fame still valued at a higher figure his generosity in rejecting the Pope's offer of the Piombo."§ The truth is that whilst Cardinal Farnese was luring Titian with a benefice

Messer Tiziano, ma infiniti altri." Mosti in Citadella. Notizie, *u. s.*, p. 599.

* Aretino to Montese, from Verona, July, 1543, in Lettere di M. P. Aret°, iii. 36ᵛ. A fresco representing Charles V. and Paul III. meeting was painted on the front of a house at Busseto, and tradition assigned this work to Titian. It has perished. Compare Beltrame's Titian, *u. s.*, pp. 45 and 65, and P. Vitali, Pitture di Busseto, Busseto, 1819.

† Aretino to Titian, July, 1543, from Verona, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, iii. 350.

‡ Aretino to Montese, July, 1543, from Verona. Ib. ib. p. 36ᵛ.

§ Aretino to Titian, July, 1543, from Verona. Ib. ib., p. 36.

which it appeared was not within his gift, the Pope had also proposed to bestow on him an office at Rome which had long since been conferred on another. At the death of Fra Mariano, the court fool of Leo the Tenth, the "seal of the papal bulls" had been given to Sebastian Luciani for life, on condition that he should pay a yearly pension of 80 ducats to Giovanni da Udine.* The offer made to Titian involved nothing less than that he should deprive two artist friends of their livelihood. He naturally revolted against the proposition and refused to entertain it. But he was the more eager to secure the benefice, which was held by an archbishop certain to receive ample compensation from Cardinal Farnese. The sinecure of which so much had been said, and so much was still to be written, was the abbey of San Pietro in Colle, in the diocese of Cenéda, already held *in commendam* by Giulio Sertorio, abbot of Nonantola and archbishop of San Severina. The archbishop, when pressed to give up his interest in this abbey, had sent his brother Antonio Maria to represent him at Bologna; and with him Farnese had come to terms which he afterwards urged on Sertorio by letter; but before it was possible that an answer to this missive should come, the Cardinal suddenly felt the first symptoms of an attack of fever, and hurriedly left Bologna, without notice to Titian. Bernardino Maffei, the Cardinal's secretary, paid a visit to the painter to communicate this unwel-

* Maniago, Storia delle belle Arti Friulane, 8vo, Udine, 1823, 2nd ed., p. 355.

come intelligence, but added consolation by affirming —what he knew to be false—that Monsignor Julio had already consented to transfer the benefice of Colle. On his return to Venice, Titian gave vent to his feelings in a letter to the Cardinal dated the 27th of July, 1543, in which he said "that the sudden departure of his Eminence had caused him to spend a bad night, which would have been followed by a bad day and a worse year ('*Malanno*,' an untranslatable pun) if Maffei had not come next morning to say that Monsignor Julio had ceded or promised to send the cession of the benefice."* But months elapsed and no news of the cession came, and Titian had ample leisure to ponder over the vicissitudes of fortune which caused him to undertake long and wearying journeys, to execute the most powerful of his works for no profit whatever. His first likeness had been that of the Pope, his second that of Pier' Luigi. Both were then painted together on a canvas which has not been preserved.† These were followed by a replica of the Pope for Cardinal Santafiore, and a likeness of Cardinal Farnese.‡

* The letter in full, with a statement of the facts in the text, is in Ronchini's Relazione, *u. s.*, pp. 3–4.

† "Paul III. in a crimson chair, his feet on a red stool resting on a Levantine carpet. To the right Pier Luigi in black embroidered with gold, a sword at his side, and one hand on his haunch." Farnese inventory in Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, p. 239.

‡ As to this Vasari, as usual, is contradictory, *i. e.*—"Tiziano . . ritrasse il Papa; che fu opera bellissima: e da quello, un altro al Cardinale Santa Fiore: i quali ambidue, che gli furono molto bene pagati dal Papa" (xiii. p. 31).

"Tiziano . . avendo prima ritratto Papa Paolo, quando S. S. andò a Bussè, e non avendo remunerazione di quello nè d'alcuni altri che aveva fatti al Cardinale Farnese ed a Santa Fiore" (Ib. x. 171).

When we contemplate the wondrous finish of the first of these pictures as it hangs, perfectly preserved, in the museum of Naples, when we study the skilful handling of the second as it stands in the rooms of the royal palace of the same sunny city, we can understand the master's chagrin. These were simply the best and most remarkable creations of a period in which all that Titian did was grand and imposing.

The pontiff's likeness is that of a strong man, gaunt and dry from age. His lean arm swells out from a narrow wrist to a bony hand, which in turn branches off into fingers portentously spare but apparently capable of a hard and disagreeable grip. His head looks oblong from the close crop of its short grey hair, and the length of its square deep hanging beard. A forehead high and endless, a nose both long and slender, expanding to a flat drooping bulb with flabby nostrils overhanging the mouth, an eye peculiarly small and bleary, a large and thin-lipped mouth, display the character of Paul Farnese as that of a fox whose wariness could seldom be at fault. The height of his frame, its size and sinew, still give him an imposing air, to which Titian has added by drapery admirable in its account of the under forms, splendid in the contrasts of its reds in velvet chair and silken stole and rochet, and subtle in the delicacy of its lawn whites. One hand is on the knee, another on the arm of the chair, the face in full front view, the body slightly turned to the right and relieved against a brown background. The quality of life and pulsation

so often conveyed in Titian's pictures is here in its highest development. It is life senile in the relaxation of the eyelids and the red humours showing at the eye corners, life of slow current in the projecting veins which run along the backs of the hands or beneath the flesh on the bony projections of face and wrists, but flashing out irresistibly through the eyeballs. Both face and hands are models of execution, models of balance of light and shade and harmonious broken tones. Here and there with the butt end of the brush a notch has been struck into the high lights of flesh and hair, but that is the only trace of technical trick that human ingenuity can detect. Never, it is clear, since the days of the "Christ of the Tribute Money," had Titian more imperiously felt the necessity of finishing and modelling; never was he more successful in combining the detail of a Fleming with the softness of Bellini or the polish of Antonello, combining them all with breadth of plane, freedom of touch, and transparence of shadow peculiarly his own.*

Was he thinking, when he produced a masterpiece thus instinct with life and motion, of Michaelangelo who was to see and criticise his work at Rome? Did he remember the illustrious dead, the noble Raphael whose grandest creation had been a portrait of Leo? Did it strike him that he had painted countless doges,

* This picture is of life-size to the knees, and on canvas. It is numbered 8 in the Correggio Saloon of the Naples Museum, and is in perfect preservation. We find it in the Parmese inventory of 1680 (Campori, *u. s.*, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, p. 233).

dukes, and senators and statesmen, and never a Pope before, that it behoved him to do his best for a potentate whose palaces were filled with the marvels of the Revival? Had not Clement the Seventh heard of him at Bologna and left him unheeded;* and should he not endeavour to wring praise from Paul the Third? After the picture was finished it was varnished and set to dry on the terrace of Titian's lodging, and the passing crowd stopped to look and doffed their hats as they thought to a living Pope.†

With greater speed but not less skill Titian painted Pier' Luigi Farnese, the worthy son of an astute and unscrupulous father. But as Titian depicts him, the Duke of Castro looks more grandly base and possessed of less than his father's share of that cunning which he required to keep his person from the daggers of his foes. Though given to every form of vice, his striking presence was not marred at this time by any lurking sickness. Caro, his confidential agent and adviser, says he was then in better looks and spirits than he had ever known before.‡ His figure stands out grandly in front of a pillar and a fall of green drapery. His flesh is smooth and oily, his nose long and of meandering curve, but in the main aquiline, his short hair and copious beard deeply black, his eyebrows full

* A portrait of Clement VII. ascribed to Titian in the Bridgewater Collection is not original, but recalls the style of the disciples of Schiavone and Tintoretto.

† Vasari to Benedetto (? Varchi) Bottari, Raccolta, i. p. 57.

‡ Annl. Caro to Claudio Tolomei, from Castro, July, 1543, in Lettere familiari del Commendatore A. Caro, 8vo, Ven. 1574. Vol. i., p. 167.

and sharply pencilled, his eyes close to each other, large, treacherous, and of jet; his lips sensual and blood-red. A black velvet toque with gold buttons and a white feather, a tippet of brown fur over a slashed silver silk damask doublet, furs at the wrist, the ducal staff to rest the right hand, the left on a sword. All this is blocked out with sweep of brush and swift lightness of touch, making up a picture surprising for the ease with which it is thrown off, and full of the most wonderful accidents of surface.*

At the Naples Museum Cardinal Alessandro in his robes and cap, holding a glove in his right hand, looks tame when compared with his splendid father. His face is youthful; his hair of chestnut colour; his beard downy; a violet curtain falls in the background, over a wall of brownish tint. The tameness is doubtless due to time, abrasion and neglect, from which the canvas has suffered almost irretrievable injury. So bad indeed is the preservation, so dry the pigment, that we fail to recognise the hand of Titian.† The same Cardinal, a bust turned to the right, in the Corsini palace at Rome, is still more difficult to judge

* This picture, in the Palazzo Reale at Naples, is described in the Farnese inventory of 1680 (Campori, Cat. *u. s.*, p. 230). It is on panel to the knees, large as life, and well preserved.

† Naples Museum, No. 18. Knee piece, on canvas, of life-size. On the back we find the seal of the Farnese, a lily in wax, and the words: C.[ardinal] S. ANGLO. This picture would gain much if stretched on a new canvas. It is registered in the Parma inventory of 1680 (Camp. Cat., *u. s.*, p. 230). Another portrait in the same inventory has not been traced,—Cardinal S. Angelo, cap on head and gloves in his left hand, and his right hand in shadow (Camp. Catal. p. 234).

of, though bits of it might point to the authorship of Titian.*

Vasari observes that the portrait of Paul the Third, of which a replica was made for Cardinal Guidascanio Santafiore, was preserved in Rome, and that both original and replica were frequently copied. We naturally infer from this statement that the replica differed from the original at Naples, and it is to be presumed that this was so, because the portraits of Paul the Third, exhibited under Titian's name in numerous English and continental galleries, are mostly in two forms; one of which shows the Pope bare-headed with his left hand on the arm of his chair, and his right hand on his knee; the other with the red cap on the head, and the right hand at least on the arm of the chair. The finest example in the second form is that of the Barbarigo collection now at Petersburg, where both hands are on the arms of the pontifical seat; but Titian in this instance worked hurriedly, and was probably helped by assistants, and the result is an aged look in the Pope.† Those in the second

* The bust of Cardinal Farnese in the Corsini Gallery at Rome, represents the prelate in his cap and robes in front of a green curtain, of life-size, and on panel. Of the original little more is seen than in the half shades of the forehead, part of the neck and ear, and neighbouring cheek. The eyes, the hair, the dress, and ground, are all repainted. The older fragments suggest the handling of Titian. There is a print of this portrait by Girolamo Rossi.

† This is a canvas, with the Pope seen to the knees, numbered 101 in the Gallery of the Hermitage, and in size 3 ft. 8 in. English h. by 2 ft. 11½ in. The colours are slightly dimmed by time and old varnish, and partial retouching is not to pass unobserved, ex. gr. in the neck and left hand. But, besides, a piece has been added to the canvas on the right side of the picture.

form are either copies or injured to such an extent that an opinion on them would not be justified. They are to be found in the catalogues of the Northwick, Pitti and Spada collections, at the Belvedere in Vienna, in the Museum of Turin, or in the Castle of Alnwick.*

Not till he returned to his home in Biri was it in Titian's power to attend to more lucrative commissions than those which he had carried out for the Farnese. No doubt there was less honour to be had by working

* The Northwick example, which changed hands at the sale of that collection, was a counterpart of the bare-headed original at Naples; it was so much repainted that it was difficult to decide whether Titian was the painter or one of his pupils (No. 870 of Lord Northwick's Catalogue).

The Pitti copy (No. 297), ascribed to Paris Bordone, is a reproduction of that of Naples by a painter of the 17th century.

The Spada copy is not by a Venetian, but by an artist of the Italian Schools of the 18th century.

That of the Turin Museum (No. 129), formerly ascribed to Titian and now thrown back into the school, is in the manner of a late disciple of the last Bassanos.

A more faithful imitation, on a small scale (half life-size) and on panel, is that of Lord Northumberland at Alnwick, originally in the Cammuccini and Altieri Collections at Rome.

Other varieties are a knee-piece, No. 24 in the Museum of Naples, in which the right hand of the Pope is closed over a paper, and a landscape is seen through a window to the right. This canvas appears to have been one of the Parmese heirlooms, and is registered as an original Titian in the Inventory of Parma of 1680. It is greatly damaged; but if we judge from a fragment of the left hand on the arm of the chair which has escaped injury, the portrait may have been originally Titian's.

At the Belvedere of Vienna the Pope is represented sitting, with his right hand on the arm of his seat. He wears the purple cap, and his left arm hangs to his knees. This, however, is a Venetian canvas, of a period subsequent to Titian's death (photograph by Miethke and Wawra).

One of the copies above noted may be that registered in the Farnese inventory as done by Gatti (Soiaro), Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, *u. s.*, p. 294.

for merchants or provincial nobles than for Roman prelates, but for less labour a higher reward was probably secured. Early in the year 1529, Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, raised to the rank of a noble Martin van der Hanna, a citizen of Brussels, whose money-bags had done good service in the cause of Charles the Fifth. Martin settled shortly after at Venice, called himself D'Anna, and bought the palace of the Talenti, at the ferry of San Benedetto on the Grand Canal. Here he engaged Pordenone to paint the walls of his dwelling inside and out.* Here he resided with his sons Giovanni and Daniel, who followed their father's business of general merchants. In 1543, Giovanni d'Anna became the friend and *compare*, as well as the patron of Titian, and Titian completed for him the great "Ecce Homo"† which hangs in the gallery of Vienna. When Henry the Third passed through Venice on his way to Paris in 1574, he saw this masterpiece in the house of the d'Annas, and offered eight hundred ducats for it.‡ But when Sir Henry Wotton was English envoy at Venice, in 1620, he bought the canvas for the Duke of Buckingham; and a few years later that superb favourite refused £7000 for it from Thomas, Earl of Arundel. To the wealth and splendour of the days of James, the troublous time

* Vasari, ix. 36; Sansovino, Ven. desc. 212; Dolce, Dialogo, 62; Cicogna, Isc. Ven., iii. 198. This palace is now called Palazzo Martinengo. There are fragments of Pordenone's frescos on the canal front.

† Vasari, xiii. 20. Titian also painted Giovanni's portrait; and, later still, he composed for him a crucifixion. Ib. ib., xiii. 43. Both pictures are missing.

‡ Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 89.

of the Revolution succeeded. The son of the murdered Villiers was glad to sell by auction the gallery of his father, glad to get as many hundreds for the "Ecce Homo" from Canon Hillewerve of Antwerp, as Buckingham had refused thousands to Arundel. Archduke Leopold bought the picture from the canon for his brother the Emperor Ferdinand the Third. It came to Prague, and was taken from thence, in 1688, to Vienna by the Emperor Charles the Sixth.*

In this large canvas, which measures little less than twelve feet by eight, Titian again transforms a gospel subject into a modern episode; merging religious feeling into familiar realism, and transforming the sublime sacrifice of Christ into a display of ordinary suffering. On the same general lines as the "Presentation in the Temple" the composition is set partly on steps leading down from a palace, and partly in the square fronting the palace. On the top of the steps, and before the door, the Saviour is presented to the people. The gaoler behind looks on as Pilate, in the semblance of Aretino, points to the Captive, and asks the crowd, "What evil hath he done?" The chief priests, the elders and multitude, are shouting, "Let him be crucified." Two of the number stride up the steps to claim the victim, others show their arms and hands above the press, two guards advance with halberds, in

* "Advertisement" to the Catalogue of the Collection of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by Brian Fairfax, 8vo, London, Bathoe, 1785; Krafft, Hist. Krit. Catalog., *u. s.*, p. 38.

rear of them a young mother grasps the shoulders of a boy who clings to her in terror. A prelate in red robes moves gravely on. A standard-bearer waves his colours, and two horsemen—a Turk, the counterfeit of Sultan Soliman, in a white turban, and a knight in steel armour—bring up the rear. To the left, at the foot of the steps, a man in working dress chides his barking dog, and a reclining soldier sets his hand on his shield as he turns to look up at the Saviour. The whole scene is laid in the open air, in front of a palace of solid and dungeon-like appearance, yet finely decorated with statues; and it is surprising how Titian, in this confined space and with only twenty-seven figures, effectively realises the idea of a multitude.

Though handled with great freedom and facility, and coloured with richly contrasted tones, this picture betrays more than Titian's habitual neglect of contour, whilst it displays less of his usual elevation of character. The palet is varied in tint, the brush stroke solid and broad. The shades of colour are strong and decided, and a pleasing warmth of brown spreads evenly over the canvas, but effect produced by dark bituminous shadow reminds us of habits peculiar in after years to Schiavone and Tintoretto; and it is scarcely to be doubted that whilst Titian was enjoying the society and the flattering attentions of the papal court, his ablest assistants were laboriously employed in the workshop at home. To this distribution of labour we perhaps owe the comparative insignificance of the figure of Christ, whose shape is as mean as His bear-

ing is humble; to the same cause also, the violent plebeian action of some of the crowd, which differs so greatly from the devotional calm impressed on the "Presentation in the Temple." But even with these defects such a picture naturally appealed to the feelings of the Venetian public, not merely because it illustrated Scripture in a striking way, but because it gave a quaint and startling prominence to some noted individuals of the time. It must have been amusing to those who knew Aretino to see him represented in the garb of Pilate, though Aretino himself might have wished that his face had shown somewhat less of the vulgar licentiousness habitually impressed on his features. It was natural again that Soliman, whose likeness Titian had so often taken from medals, should be numbered amongst those who asked for the blood of Christ. Strange is the tradition which described the armed rider at Soliman's side as an equestrian portrait of Charles the Fifth, equally strange that the features of this rider should be those of Alfonso of Este.*

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* Ridolfi, Maraviglie, i. 225, properly described the Pilate as a portrait of Aretino, and the turbaned Turk as Soliman. The knight, whom he calls Charles V., is not in the least like that monarch. The picture in the Belvedere at Vienna, is No. 19 in the 2nd room of the 1st floor. It is on canvas, with figures as large, or nearly as large, as life. On a scroll of paper at the foot of the steps we read:

TITIANV
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EQVES
CES.
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1543.

The bituminous pigment used in the colours contributed greatly to make the canvas dark as it now is. Besides this, the surface has been unequally cleaned, was much retouched in various places,

About the time of the completion of a picture thus fitted to rouse the envy and admiration of Paolo Veronese, Titian probably finished the "Ascension of the Virgin" which now hangs in the Cathedral of Verona. Without the majestic grandeur of the Assunta of the Frari, this fine composition is striking for its masterly combination of light and shade and harmonious colours with realistic form and action. Mysterious gloom lies on the Virgin's face as she sits in a *corona* of light on the clouds above the tomb. The very inception of thankful feeling is shown in the movement of the hands which rise to join each other in prayer. Serene joy marks the features looking down at the apostles. A fine contrast is produced by the standing St. Peter on the left, and the kneeling apostle to the right of the canvas; a contrast equally fine by the motion of the two men who look down into the sepulchre whilst their companions glance upwards at the radiant apparition in the sky. St. Thomas in the middle of the background has caught the Virgin's girdle as it fell from heaven. The system of dark shading which marks the "Ecce Homo"

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and is at present somewhat out of focus in consequence. What reminds us here of Schiavone is the scumbled bituminous tone and the realism of the forms, and an evident vulgarity in action. A fine photograph from the original was published by Miethke and Wawra. Hollar engraved the piece in 1650.

A copy of this piece hangs high up in the sacristy of the church of San Gaetano at Padua, and bears an inscription similar to the above, except that the date is 1574. The colours are much dimmed, and the canvas hangs so high that the question of originality must, for the present, remain undecided.

The same subject by Titian is noted in a picture once in the Correr Palace, near Santa Fosca of Venice, by Boschini. Pref. to the Ricche Miniere.

recurs again, and shows to some advantage in union with a bold free touch and sweep of brush. But there is more concentration in the composition, more character in the faces, a finer cast of drapery and greater dignity than in the picture of the Dannas.*

Meanwhile Titian and the Academy, with Aretino at its head, were setting levers in motion to stir the Farneses into some acknowledgment of the services rendered by Titian at Bologna and Bussé. In March the painter himself, at Aretino's dictation, penned a letter to the Cardinal's secretary Maffei, to urge the nature of his claims. "The fame of the great Alexander, he wrote, was as wide as the world, excluding all other themes of praise or conversation. To hear this praise was like a return of youth, and not less refreshing than it would be to hear that his Eminence had kept the vow made by the holy clemency of the Pope in respect of the benefice."†

Ranuccio Farnese, no less diligently canvassed in the same direction, was made to address his brother in April as follows:

* Rossi (Gius. Mar.) in the Nuova Guida di Verona (8vo, Verona, 1854, p. 25), states that the "Assumption" was placed on an altar once belonging to the Veronese family of Cartolari, but afterwards rebuilt on a design of Sansovino for the family of Nichesola. This is confirmed by Ridolfi, Marav., i. 229. The canvas is arched at top. Its foreground figures are large as life. It was carried to France at the close of last century, and was subsequently returned. Heavy layers of varnish and some retouches disfigure the surface, which has lost much of its freshness in consequence. There are line engravings of this piece by Gaetano Zancon and C. Normand. It was copied by Ridolfi for an altar in a church at Roveredo (Ridolfi, Marav., i. 229).

† Titian to Maffei, from Venice, March 20, 1544, in Ronchini, Relazioni, *u. s.* p. 5.

"I came to Venice to thank the Signoria for giving me quiet possession of the Abbey of Rosazzo; and there I received a visit from M°. Ticiano who begged I would ask your R^d. L^p. to hasten the grant of the benefice for his son. Titian being a most estimable person, I beg to recommend him most earnestly. I leave to morrow for Padua."*

Mindful of the high favour in which Michaelangelo stood with Paul the Third, for whom he had painted the "Last Judgment," Titian also wrote in April to the great Florentine asking him as a brother of the craft to favour his suit at Rome;† and this letter was seconded by one from Aretino to the same master, telling him of the honours received from the Emperor at Verona, praising the "Last Judgment" at the Sixtine, which he had not seen, and—commingling *dulce cum utile*—begging for drawings, which he valued more than all the cups and chains of princes.‡ To Carlo Gualteruzzi, a friend and translator of Bembo, and secretary to Ottavio Farnese, communications of a similar character were made in June, when Aretino suggested an appeal to Bembo to use his influence with Michaelangelo.§ In November, finally Aretino sent a personal and most flattering missive to Ottavio Farnese,‖ and in order to keep in view the talents

* Ranuccio to Cardinal Farnese, Venice, April 25, 1544. Ib. ib. ib.

† Aretino to Buonarroti, from Venice, April 1544, in Lettere di M. P. A. iii. 45-6.

‡ Ib. ib. ib.

§ Aretino to Carlo Gualteruzzi, Venice, June, 1544, in Lett. di M. P. A. iii. 51; and compare Sansovino, Ven. Descritta, p. 597.

‖ The same to Ottavio Farnese,

of the painter whose interests were thus persistently put forward, he published a note to Titian, in which he shows a true feeling for the sublime in nature and art:

"Having dined, contrary to my habit, alone, or rather in company of the quartan fever which robs me of all taste for the good things of the table, I looked out of my window and watched the countless passing boats, and amongst them the gondolas manned by celebrated oarsmen racing with each other on the Grand Canal. I saw the crowd that thronged the bridge of Rialto and the Riva to witness the race, and as it slowly dispersed I glanced at a sky which since the days of the creation was never more splendidly graced with lights and shadows. The air was such as an artist would like to depict who grieved that he was not Titian. The stonework of the houses, though solid, seemed artificial, the atmosphere varied from clear to leaden. The clouds above the roofs merged into a distance of smoky grey, the nearest blazing like suns, more distant ones glowing as molten lead dissolving at last into horizontal streaks, now greenish blue, now bluish green, cutting the palaces as they cut them in the landscapes of Vecelli. And as I watched the scene I exclaimed more than once, 'O Titian, where art thou, and why not here to realize this scene?'" *

Venice, Nov., 1544, in Lett. di M. P. A. iii. 68.

* This is a free paraphrase of Aretino's letter, dated Venice, May, 1544, in Lettere di M. P. A. iii. p. 48.

Where Titian was at this moment is uncertain, perhaps far away on a trip to his native mountains, perhaps lingering on the borders of the Alpine land, near the canonry of Colle, which he was claiming for Pomponio. Early in the year he signed a contract with the people of Castel Roganzuolo, whose church belonged to Colle by Ceneda, to paint an altar-piece in three parts, and deliver it in the following September for 200 ducats; and there is every reason to believe that he performed his part of the agreement. He was indeed much more punctual with the delivery of his work than the churchwardens with the settlement of their dues; for in 1546 it was arranged that the debt should be cancelled by instalments, the people of Castel Roganzuolo undertook to pay an annual sum on account for eight years in kind, and furnish the stones and the labour for the building of a cottage, planned by Titian on the neighbouring slope of Manza.

"Fortunate Titian," says Josiah Gilbert, "to possess a resort like this, which no Venice garden could rival in attraction. A mile or two of high road and as much of a winding lane through hedges of acacia, once brought me from Ceneda to Castel Roganzuolo, a poor and scattered village at the foot of a bare knoll. To one edge of this clung a forlorn looking little church, and a few yards off, upon an out-cropping rock, stood its attendant tower. But what a view! An expiring thunderstorm was moaning along the terraces of Alpine hills, rising into mist and blackness on the north; but under a ragged canopy of cloud, the distant Julian Alps stood out in opal clearness, and a flood of golden

light was poured over the plain, which spread boundless beneath the eye—east and west, and south, a sea of verdure, whose purple distance might have been the sea itself, as the shining campaniles, dotting it all over, might have been the sails of innumerable ships. One of the most distant, due south, was pointed out as that of St. Mark's. . . .

"Inside the little church (the key of which must be obtained from the canonica a short distance off) a single glance at the altar-piece showed that if Titian's hand had been there much of his work had been coarsely painted over, and much had perished." *

The truth is, the people of Roganzuolo who commissioned the picture of Titian in 1544 also ordered and obtained a church standard from his son Orazio in 1575, and there is some ground for thinking that the first was disposed of or lost, whilst the second was set up in its place. Orazio's contract stipulated that the standard should comprise a figure of St. Peter on one side, and St. Paul on the other. St. Peter and St. Paul are the two saints on the side canvases of the composite altar-piece now in the church of Roganzuolo. They are painted in Orazio's well known style, whilst the central Virgin and Child is a coarse production in the fourth-rate manner of Fiumicelli, or Peccanisio of Treviso.†

* Gilbert's Cadore, *u. s.* pp. 29–31.

† For records concerning Titian's and Orazio's dealings with the men of Castel Roganzuolo, see Appendix. The canvases, with their life-size figures, are in a stately gilt screen, with pilasters and pediment and base. St. Peter stands to the right, holding the keys and reading from a book. St. Paul holds a volume in his

During 1544, and the greater part of 1545, Titian's efforts to obtain a reward for his services to the Farnese princes were altogether fruitless. But this neglect was due, not so much to meanness or avarice, as to the vicissitudes of politics. The Pope and his clan were much too busy with temporal cares, and the cardinal was too frequently away on distant missions to think of the claims of a painter so far away from Rome as Titian was. Francis the First had sent an army into Italy in spring, and won the battle of Cerisole, giving a death wound there to Titian's old patron del Vasto. Charles the Fifth had put an end to campaigning in Italy by invading France, and Cardinal Alessandro had been acting as legate at the tail of the contending armies. After the peace of Crespi, signed by Charles and Francis in September, Titian's hope of deriving advantage from the papal connexion may have increased. He certainly showed no distrust of it when he wrote in December to engage the

left hand and points downward with the sword in his right. The Virgin stands at the side of an ornamented plinth, on which she supports the naked form of Christ. At her feet is a lemon and a basket of flowers. Each of the three canvases is arched at top. The technical treatment of the saints is Titianesque, but Titianesque only in the form of Titian's pupils, and especially of Orazio in his old age; and this is easily observable, in spite of the fading of the colours, the scaling of the flesh tints, and a general dimness of surface. The pigments are thin, yet opaque in tone; drawing, modelling, and light and shade are all too feeble for Titian. The Virgin is less skilfully handled than the saints, being heavy and squat in shape, and strained in movement. The colours are sharp, and the touch rapid and loose. Besides the damage done by time, we may notice the scaling of the blue mantle, which is changed to green. If Orazio's standard should not have been used to make up the altarpiece it has disappeared.

Cardinal's interest in his quarrel with the canons of San Spirito.*

Pending results at the court of the Pope, it would have been impolitic to neglect the older and more certain patronage of Charles; and early in October Titian wrote a letter all his own, and free from the turgid style of Aretino, to tell the Emperor that he had finished two portraits of the deceased Empress Isabella.

TITIAN TO THE EMPEROR.

"YOUR CÆSAREAN MAJESTY,

"I consigned to Señor Don Diego di Mendoza, the two portraits of the most Serene Empress, in which I have used all the diligence of which I was capable. I should have liked to take them to your Majesty in person, but that my age and the length of the journey forbade such a course. I beg your Majesty to send me word of the faults or failings which I may have made, and return the pictures that I may correct them. Your Majesty will not permit anyone else to lay hand on them. For the rest I refer to what S^or^ Don Diego will say respecting my affairs, and I embrace the feet and hands of your Majesty, to whose grace I beg most humbly to be recommended.

"Your Majesty's most humble and constant servant,

"TITIANO.

"To His Cæsarean Majesty, the Emperor my Señor."

"*From* VENICE, *Oct.* 5, 1544."†

* See *antea*.

† This letter, copied in the Archives of Simancas by Mr. Bergenroth, bears the date of 1545

The messenger who took this letter no doubt carried another, which Aretino published for the benefit of his contemporaries, referring at length to the points which Titian had left to Charles' ambassador. It was the old complaint breaking out afresh. Nine years had elapsed since Titian had received a grant to import corn from Naples, and nothing had come of it; months had gone by, and the pension on Milan remained unpaid.* The portraits were sent to Brussels, where they remained till Charles the Fifth's final retirement into Spain,† when they were taken to Yuste, and registered in the inventory drawn up after the Emperor's death. The first perished, the last still hangs in the museum of Madrid.‡

The original of these portraits is supposed to have been by a Fleming, but Titian, as usual, is careful not to betray the absence of his model. The Empress had been dead some time when he painted her likeness. Yet no one would think that she had not sat

(see Bergenroth MS. in the British Museum); but it is clear that it was written in 1544, because Aretino sent a letter to Charles the Fifth in October of the latter year, to say that Titian's portrait of Isabella was finished (Lettere di M. P. A. iii. p. 77), and because Titian in October, 1545, was not at Venice, but in Rome. The original letter will be found in Appendix.

* Aretino's letter to the Emperor, *antea*, forwarded under cover to the Venetian envoy in Charles the Fifth's camp, Bernardo Navagero.

† "*Item.* La resemblance de l'Empereur et de l'Impératrice faict sur toille par Tisiane.

"*Item.* La resemblance de l'Impératrice faict sur toille par Tisiane."—Inventory of Aug. 1556, in Gachard, Retraite et Mort de Charles V., 8vo, Brux., Gand, et Leipzig, 1855, vol. ii. p. 93.

‡ Stirling, Cloister Life of Charles V. Both canvases were copied by Rubens at Madrid in 1605. See Sainsbury's Papers, *u. s.*, pp. 3 & 237.

for it. She rests on a chair near a window, in front of a rich fall of brocade. Her red hair is strewed with pearls, her neck bound by a pearl necklace, supporting a pendant of emeralds and rubies. The bodice is red velvet, the sleeves lined with crimson satin, slashed and looped with jewels, the habit-shirt and puffed foresleeve muslin with gold fillets. The left hand holds a book, and through the window is a view of a mountain landscape. The picture was never sent back for correction. Rendering gravely, even sadly, the features of a woman turned of twenty-four, it remained very dear to Charles the Fifth, who took it to Yuste, and asked to see it as he lay on his death-bed.*

During this and most of the following years Titian was chiefly occupied with portraits. Just about this time, the most distinguished resort of men eminent in politics, literature, and art, was the palace of the Duke of Urbino at Venice, where Guidubaldo and his wife Julia Varana frequently held court, when public business or the vicissitudes of the seasons failed to keep them at Pesaro. Here the Duke was fond of assembling his friends and such persons as might help to further his purpose of acquiring supreme command of the

* This picture, numbered 485 in the Madrid Museum, is on canvas, m. 1.17 h. by 0.98. In 1582 it was in the palace of Pardo, in 1686 in the Alcazar of Madrid. See D. Pedro de Madrazo's Catalogue, in which it is suggested that the original from which Titian painted was by Anthony Moro, probably a baseless conjecture. See Mignet's Charles V., 8vo, Paris, 1854, 2nd ed. p. 412. An engraving by D. de Jode represents the empress with her right hand on a table, and flowers in her left.

Venetian forces. Here the essayist Sperone was sure to be found in company of the Emperor's envoy, Mendozza, the Duke's agent, Gian-Jacomo Lionardi, Trissino, Aretino, Bernardo Navagero, Marcantonio and Domenico Morosini, Daniel Barbaro, Federico Badoer, and Domenico Venier, all of whom paid court to the lord and lady of the mansion. The whole of the company may be found in colloquy in Sperone's dialogue of Fortune, where the Duke hears his guests discuss the failure of Charles the Fifth before Algiers,* and as in Castiglione's "Cortigiano," the most excellent painter, adored by patron and clients, is Raphael, so here the popular idol is Titian. On one occasion, when the dialogue is confined to Tullia, Bernardo Tasso, Niccolo Gratia, and Molza, and the theme is all-absorbing "Love," Tullia talks very loftily of the world "as an image of God created by Nature," and with some contempt contrasts that "image" with the portraits of painters, which give of man's life but the outer skin. "You are unjust to Titian," cries Tasso enthusiastically, "No," exclaims Tullia, "I hold Titian to be not a painter—his creations not art, but his works to be miracles, and I think that his pigments must be composed of that wonderful herb which made Glaucus a god when he partook of it; since his portraits make upon me the impression of something divine, and as Heaven is the paradise of the soul, so God has transfused into Titian's colours the paradise of our bodies."†

* Dialoghi del Sig. Speron Sperone, 8vo, Ven. 1596, p. 510.

† Sperone, Dialogo d'Amore, 8vo, Aldus, Ven. 1542, pp. 24, 25.

Of all the persons who figure in these dialogues, five at least were portrayed by Titian in 1545, after an obscurer sitter, a friend of Priscianese, called Alessandro Corvino, had been introduced and despatched.* In February the portrait of Daniel Barbaro was sent to Bishop Jovius, whom Charles the Fifth habitually called his liar, whilst Titian called him his *compare*.† Though not as yet appointed envoy to Edward the Sixth, nor patriarch of Aquileia, Barbaro was a doctor in the faculty of Arts at Padua, and a patron of Titian preparatory to acting Mecænas to Palladio, Vittoria and Paolo Veronese.

A likeness of Guidubaldo the Second, completed in March, was followed later in the year by one of Julia Varana; whilst that of Marcantonio Morosini was delivered in July.‡ It is not quite certain whether a similar canvas representing Sperone was done at this time.§

* Aretino to Priscianese, Venice, Feb. 1545, in Lettere di M. P. A. iii. 97ᵛ.—98.

† Aretino to Giovio at Rome, Ven., Feb. 1545, Lett. di M. P. A. iii. p. 104. A portrait of Daniel Barbaro, resting his hand on a book, was in the collection of Hans Van Uffel, at Antwerp, in Ridolfi's time. (See Maraviglie, i. p. 259.) It corresponds altogether with a portrait engraved by Hollar, inscribed: "Titianus pinxit, Hollar fecit, 1649.—Ritratto di Monsignor della Casa.—Front face of a man with short hair and long beard, with the fingers of his left hand on a book."

‡ Aretino to the Duke of Urbino, Venice, March, 1545. The same to the Duchess of Urbino, Venice, Oct. 1545. The same to Marcantonio Morosini, Venice, July, 1545; in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, iii. 114, 198, and 161. The portrait of Guidubaldo passed, with other heirlooms, to Florence in 1631, but is now missing. See Chiavacci's Pitti Catalogue of 1859, p. 245.

§ Sperone's likeness was seen by Ridolfi at Padua, in possession of a canon Conti; on a cover over the picture a child was painted playing with a lion. See also a fragment of a letter from Sperone in Ticozzi, Vecelli, *u. s.*, note to

But we measure the labour which still awaits the student of Titian's works when we note that of all these portraits none can be traced or identified. One and one only remains to tell of the master's industry in these days, and that is the picture in which Titian immortalized the features of the now bloated Aretino. In a letter acknowledging the receipt of the "Barbaro," Jovius had asked for a sketch of Aretino. His friend replied that he would give him a copy of the "terrible marvel," just brought to completion by Titian.* A few months later the painter sent the canvas home; and Aretino despatched it to the Duke of Florence with a sarcastic letter, saying that the satins, velvets, and brocades would perhaps have been better if Titian had received a few more scudi for working them out.† In a similar strain he wrote to Titian himself, then absent at Rome, upbraiding him for having left his portrait a sketch instead of a finished picture;‡ and yet, when we look at the masterpiece as it hangs in the museum of the Pitti at Florence, it strikes us as a marvel of finish. In the "Ecce Homo" at Vienna, where

p. 223. But consult also Bartoli Pitture, &c., di Rovigo, 8vo, Ven. 1793, p. 164, who describes in the bishop's palace a portrait of Sperone, "aged 22, by Titian." But Bartoli adds that Sperone holds in his hand the book of his Dialogues, and these Sperone only began to write at the age of thirty. (See Sperone, Apologia dei Dialoghi, in Dialoghi, *u. s.*, p. 521.)

* Giovio to Aretino, from Rome, March 11, 1545, in Bottari's Raccolta, 5, 230; and Aretino to Giovio, Venice, April, 1545, in Lettere di M. P. A. iii. 121.

† Compare Gaye, Carteggio, ii. 331, 345-7; and Aretino to the Duke of Florence, Oct. 1545, in Lett. di M. P. A. iii. 238.

‡ Aretino to Titian, from Venice, Oct. 1545, Lett. di M. P. A. iii. 236.

Aretino acts the part of Pilate, the features are low and the expression common. At the Pitti, the face seems disengaged from an atmosphere of corruption, and—as far as such a thing is possible—appears idealized and ennobled. Of short stature originally and of great strength, Aretino still looks lusty, though beginning to age. There is power in the solid arch of the brow, power in the scantling of the forehead. Fire is in the large dark eye, and something that tells of strength too in the pepper and salt of the hair and streaks of grey in the full, well-furnished beard. The model has not lost his characteristic cunning and audacity; the type of the blusterer and bully is not completely effaced, nor has the natural effrontery of the scribe entirely disappeared; but the worst points are cleverly toned down, and more prominence is given to an air of sharpness than to mere bloat and fat. What Aretino calls a *bozzo* is a miracle of modelling in solid impast of rich coloured pigments. There is no trace here of quartan fever, no sallow toning of flesh, but, on the contrary, a ruddy flush of health, and something of that warmth and depth of tinge which we find recurring in Rembrandt. The livid shades beneath the eyes tell not so much of dissipation as of a bilious and irascible temper. Freedom and spirit are shown alike in the motion and colours of a head slightly raised and turned to the right, and in the action of the body, one arm of which is behind the back, the right across the breast, as the gloved hand grasps and holds together the stuff pelisse which covers a brown doublet. Conspicuous is the chain of knighthood thrown brightly

across the chest.* Cosimo never thanked Aretino for this portrait, which reminded him of unpleasant relations said to have existed between his own father and his secretary. To the repeated and perfectly insolent letters of Aretino, he answered at last with the present of money, which was all that Aretino cared for.†

The Duke of Urbino, at whose court Titian found encouragement in these years was not the richest, though he was certainly the most profuse in his expenditure of all the north Italian princes. He was a soldier who never led large armies in the field, nor fought a general action. As commander of the Venetian forces after 1545, he found no opportunity to signalize his powers. As chief in succession of the troops of the Church and Philip the Second, his duties remained administrative rather than active in a military sense. His reign was remarkable, too, for disturbances caused by arbitrary taxation; and he put down those disturbances with an iron hand, and spent the money he obtained right regally. But he was a man of taste, with literary and artistic sympathies, and peculiarly fitted to play the part of Mecænas to a man of the genius of Titian, at a time when peace had been restored to Italy and a great part of Europe.

* The portrait, on a dark brown ground, is numbered 54 at the Pitti. The figure is seen to the waist, is of life size, on canvas, and well preserved. Photograph by Alinari. Of other portraits supposed to represent Aretino something was said (see *antea*, p. 319). Another portrait, with a forged inscription, at Dresden shall be noted at its proper time and place. A fine engraving of the Pitti portrait reversed, is by F. Petrucci and T. Ver Cruys, who also engraved a portrait of a younger man, under the name of Aretino.

† Gaye, *u. s.*, ii. 345–7.

The causes favourable to the exercise of a generous patronage by a small chieftain of the rank of Guidubaldo, were, however, as potent at the court of the Pope and Charles the Fifth as at the court of Pesaro; and we shall find an eager competition taking place between these unequal but rival powers as to who should monopolize the services of Titian.

Charles the Fifth, who had settled his differences with France, and signed a truce with the Moslems, had also negotiated a league with the Farnese princes to put down the Protestants, and the first result of this league had been a general council, which met with great solemnity at Trent, in December, 1545. The Pope was triumphant. He had just made Pier Luigi Duke of Parma and Piacenza against the Emperor's will. His grandson Ottavio was expecting an heir from his wife, the daughter of the Emperor. Cardinal Alessandro no longer required to lead the wandering life of an itinerant envoy. Most of the Farnese family was in Rome, and concentrated — socially speaking—in the Palace of Belvedere. No wonder, under these circumstances, that whilst the Duke of Urbino was striving to secure the talents of Titian for himself, the Farnese should have renewed their efforts to attract him to Rome. It is doubtful whether the painter would have had courage, after so many disappointments, to accept the invitation, in the face of determined opposition from Guidubaldo, had not Girolamo Quirini urged upon him the advantages of such a step at this particular juncture. It was to him no doubt that Titian was indebted for an arrangement

by which the Duke of Urbino contented himself with a temporary stay of his favourite master at Pesaro, and allowed him to proceed from thence to Rome, on condition that once in the capital he should not forget the commissions for which he had pledged himself.*

Under this arrangement, Guidubaldo took Titian under his own personal protection at Venice, in September, 1545, caused him to journey with Orazio, now his assistant, in the ducal suite through Ferrara to Pesaro, and after a stay in that city, gave him an escort through the whole of the Papal States to Rome.† Never had a painter since the days of Apelles been treated more royally. "Titian," says Aretino writing to Guidubaldo in October, "bids me adore the Duke of Urbino, whose princely kindness was never equalled by any sovereign, and he bids me do this in gratitude for the escort of seven riders, the payment of his journey, the company on the road, the caresses, honours, and presents, the hospitality of a palace which he was bid to treat as his own."‡ "Your Titian, or rather our Titian," Bembo writes to Girolamo Quirini from Rome, "is here, and he tells me that he is under great obligation to you for having been the main cause of his coming hither, and encouraging him by the kindest words to make the trip, of which he is more contented than he can say. He has already

* Bembo to Quirini, from Rome, Oct. 10, 1545, in Opere, *u. s.*, vol. vi. p. 316; Vasari, xiii. 36.

† Ibid. Also Aretino to Modanese, from Venice, in Oct.; and Aretino to Duke Guidubaldo, same place and date, in Lettere di M. P. A. iii. 217 & 223.

‡ Aretino to Guidubaldo, *u. s.*

seen so many fine antiques that he is filled with wonder, and glad that he came. The Duke of Urbino was most kind, taking him personally as far as Pesaro, and sending him from thence with horse and company, so as he confesses to be greatly bounden to him."*

Not only did Bembo receive Titian cordially, but Paul the Third gave him a friendly welcome,† and Cardinal Farnese deputed Vasari to act as his guide to the artistic treasures of the city, and then gave him rooms in the Belvedere Palace, where he had easy access to the Pope and his family, whose portraits he was now to paint.‡ Vasari doubtless took him first into the galleries of antiques, of which he very soon made particular use. He showed him the tapestries of Raphael, from which sketches were probably made on the spot.§ He went with him to the Farnesina, where Titian would scarcely believe that the monochromes of Peruzzi were not carved in stone rather than painted in monochrome.‖ He visited the Stanze of the Vatican in company of Sebastian del Piombo, who blushed to confess that he was the "barbarian who had dared to restore the frescoes of Raphael."¶

Full of enthusiasm at his reception by Bembo and the Pope, he wrote to Aretino regretting that he had not come to Rome twenty years before, giving his friend occasion to remind him that caresses were the

* Bembo to Quirini, *u. s.*

† Aretino to Bembo, from Venice, Oct. 1545; Aretino to Titian, from Venice, Oct. 1545, in Lettere di M. P. A., iii. 220 & 236.

‡ Vasari, xiii. 34.

§ See the proof of this, *postea*, in an altar-piece at Serravalle.

‖ Vas. viii. 223.

¶ Dolce Dialogo, *u. s.*, p. 9.

current coin of the Farnese. "I long for your return," continued Aretino in reply, "that I may hear what you think of the antiques, and how far you consider them to surpass the works of Michaelangelo. I want to know how far Buonarroti approaches or surpasses Raphael as a painter; and wish to talk with you of Bramante's 'Church of St. Peter,' and the masterpieces of other architects and sculptors. Bear in mind the methods of each of the famous painters, particularly that of Fra Bastiano and Perino del Vaga; look at every intaglio of Bucino. Contrast the figures of Jacopo Sansovino with those of men who pretend to rival him, and remember not to lose yourself in contemplation of the 'Last Judgment,' at the Sixtine, lest you should be kept all the winter from the company of Sansovino and myself."*

How little did Aretino really know of Titian if he thought he could now learn anything from Sebastian del Piombo or Perino del Vaga. From cartoons or casts of statues by Michaelangelo at Venice he might in earlier days have derived some notions of the peculiar way in which nature and the models of earlier generations of artists should be consulted for the attainment of a monumental ideal. Now that Titian's practice and method had set hard into a shape from which they could never again escape, comparisons of the antique and Buonarroti would necessarily have little effect on the further expansion of his style. Not that Titian's mind was closed at this time to all

* Aretino to Titian, *u. s.*, Lettere di M. P. A., iii. 236.

improving influences. We shall presently see that old as he was he still showed readiness to assimilate the good that he found in the antique or in Michaelangelo; but it was idle to think with Michaelangelo that, had he learnt to draw better in his youth, and added to the gifts which he possessed by nature the further gift of correct design, he would have been a paragon;* idle to suppose, as Del Piombo affected to believe, that had Titian come to Rome when he published the "Triumph of Faith," and then studied the works of Michaelangelo and Raphael together with antique statues, he would have produced masterpieces.† Titian himself was well aware of the danger of mere imitation, and we saw he once told Vargas, the Spanish envoy, that he purposely avoided the styles of Raphael and Michaelangelo because he was ambitious of higher distinction than that of a clever imitator.‡ It is hardly necessary to add that the education which he had received was one that enabled him to produce acknowledged masterpieces; and it is quite impossible that the study which Michaelangelo and Del Piombo regretted to have found neglected should have made Titian greater. We look in vain throughout the annals of art for a man who combined all the excellencies discernable singly in Lionardo and Raphael, or in Michaelangelo, Correggio, and Titian. To paint like Titian required Titian's peculiar talents and means; it required that colour should be made a

* Vasari, xiii. 35.
† Ib. 21.
‡ Vicus, De studiorum ratione, *u. s.* p. 109; and see *antea*, vol. i. p. 329.

speciality. To draw and render form chastened and select as that of the Florentines demanded an education of another kind, which should make colour subordinate to design. Light and shade, as pitted against each other by Correggio, were only attainable by one who gave himself exclusively to their production. There never was a genius more universal than Raphael, or one more fitted by nature to combine all the highest and best elements of art, yet Raphael is not a colourist. Del Piombo, who came to Rome with the impress of Venice in his manner, gradually lost his originality in a grand but palpable imitation of Raphael and Michaelangelo. His opinion was transplanted to Venice with that of Buonarroti and set up as a text over the door of Tintoretto, but it failed to produce the expected ideal; and it would have been utterly vain to hope that colour after the Venetian fashion or design in the grandiose style of the classics and Tuscans could amalgamate; the base and elements of both being altogether different and incapable of assimilation. The trial was finally made by the eclectics of the school of Bologna, and every tyro knows with what result.

That Titian himself thought he might have gained something from an earlier visit to Rome is obvious from his correspondence; that he afterwards confessed to have improved by his stay there in 1545 and 1546, is clear from a confession made by himself to the painter Leoni;* but it is a moot point whether he

* Giovanni Battista Leoni to Francesco Montemezzano, Rome, August 6, 1589: "I recollect hearing Messer Titian say, when

would have acquired more in 1525 than in 1545; and all that a genius of his class could obtain from a stay in the capital was enlarged experience, and that sort of superiority which a travelled man has over one who has not travelled.

If Titian, however, could not hope to procure more solid advantages from a residence at Rome than enlarged experience, he might expect that some material improvement of his social position would result from the patronage of the Pope and his friends; and there is evidence that some of the artists who were best employed at the Vatican became very jealous of him on that account. Perino del Vaga, whom Aretino had asked Titian to study, trembled at the very prospect of Titian's stay, not because he feared competition as a fresco painter, but because he feared he might lose the decoration of the King's Hall at the Vatican,* and Vasari, or Sebastian it may be, nourished secretly some sentiments of a similar kind. They were too clever, however, to display these feelings, whilst Michaelangelo, who in by-gone times had praised the portraits of the great Venetian master, was civil enough to pay him a visit in his rooms of Belvedere.†

The first picture to which Vasari refers as a work of Titian at Rome is the likeness of Paul the Third,

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I visited his house in my childhood to learn something of painting, that he had greatly improved his works after having been at Rome." See Lettere familiare di G. B. Leoni, 8vo, Ven. 1600, p. 15, in Bottari, Raccolta, *u. s.* v. p. 53.

* Vasari, x. 171.

† Ib. xiii. 35.

with Cardinal Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese, "executed with great skill, and entirely to the satisfaction of those concerned."* The canvas which contains these three personages was left to the very last unfinished, and we may think that the cause of this mishap lay in the dislike of the Pope to sit. Though the palace of the Belvedere had been chosen as Titian's habitation because it was likely to facilitate his intercourse with the pontiff, Paul was too old, too ailing, and too peevish to visit the painter's room frequently. Titian finished the heads of Cardinal Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese carefully, he left that of the Pope incomplete. But in his leisure hours he produced other works, which were quite as important as this, some unhappily destroyed, others fortunately preserved. Amongst the former is a likeness of the Pope in company of his son, Pier Luigi; "Margaret of Austria," with a white veil on her head and a double necklace of pearls; † "Clelia Farnese," the Cardinal's illegitimate daughter; a Venus, ordered by Ottavio Farnese; a Magdalen, and an "Ecce Homo," considered at the time below the master's mark.‡ The canvases which remain to show the impress of Rome on Titian's mind are the Pope with his grandsons, of

* Vasari, xiii. 35.

† Campori, Farnese Inventory in Raccolta de' Cataloghi, pp. 208, 227, 234, 237. The picture of the Pope and his son is thus described: "Paul III. in a red velvet chair, his feet on a red stool fringed with gold, standing on a Levantine carpet; to the right the Serene Pier Luigi, full length standing, in black, embroidered with gold, with a sword, and a hand on his haunch: by Titian."

‡ Vas. xiii. 35; Ridolfi, i. 231.

which mention has been made, and "Danae receiving the Golden Rain," both in the museum of Naples.

It seems curious that the Farneses should have employed Titian to illustrate the fable of Jupiter and Danae. When he began that composition, the Council of Trent was on the eve of meeting to put down corruption, simony, and protestantism. But Titian we saw had failed in the "Ecce Homo," his inconstant sitters would not always attend, and Ottavio Farnese, a layman, a man of the world, and son-in-law to the Emperor, did not disapprove of sensualism if it was veiled with delicacy and clad in peerless forms.

In Titian's version of the subject we find him triumphing over every difficulty of art, and marking —at sixty-eight—a progress in the development of his style. Danae lies on a couch scantily covered with a veil, the upper part of her form raised on snow-white cushions. A muslin sheet partially conceals the red silk of a drapery falling in graceful folds from the sides of an alcove. In the gloom behind, made gloomier by the livid cloud, from which the golden rain is falling, a pillar rears its shaft on a dark grey plinth, cutting strongly on the pure blue of a bright and sunny sky, and a distance of hills and trees bathed in haze. Cupid, a full grown boy in beautiful movement, glides away to the right, with outstretched wings and a gesture of surprise, looking curiously as he goes at the dropping of the pieces, and holding with a steady grasp his unstrung bow. The light, which scarcely illumines the features of

the maid, whose forehead lies under the shade of the cloud, strikes brightly on her frame and arm, and especially on the hand. A bracelet glistens on her wrist, a ring on one of the fingers that play with the muslin sheet. The glow of day seems to fade as it rests on the boy, and is quenched in the darkness behind; but the gradations are so delicate as to escape detection, and even the mass of projected shadow is mild and warm, whilst blended tones are spread in gentle waves over the canvas. Such perfectly balanced chiaroscuro, modelling so finished, such admirably painted flesh, are hardly to be found again; yet looking into the picture closely we see how spacious breadths of light are massed on the prominent places and illumined with decisive touches of still lighter quality, whilst pearly half tints of great tenderness, and transparent strata of a deeper value, are broken and rejoined by rubbings and glazings with a skill quite incomparable.

It was some sixteen years before this time that Correggio, according to a current tradition, had composed the "Danae," which was to pass into the collection of Charles the Fifth. Was Titian acquainted with this masterpiece, which had gone through the hands of Federico Gonzaga? Could he foresee that the creator of it would be accounted the most ideal of those artists who concealed sensualism under perfect loveliness of female shape? No doubt the "Danae" of Correggio strikes us even now as a splendid solution of the difficult problem of balancing light and shade in exquisitely blended proportions; as a delicate display

of silver-toned flesh; as a picture of the greatest brightness executed with the utmost sensitiveness of feeling. But it pales when compared with the "Danae" of Titian, in which similar allurements, and an equally subtle application of the laws of chiaroscuro are combined with colour not to be surpassed, and a grand breadth of form recalling the preternatural strength of Michaelangelo.

Buonarroti also had tried to illustrate one of the pagan legends. Though it was never carried out pictorially by himself, the Leda had been painted from his cartoon by Pontormo and other Florentines. To this wonderful creation peculiar character had been given by perfect shape in every part, united to scientific accuracy of rendering in the framework and contours. It was, so to speak, the triumph of the plastic over the pictorial element of colour. Titian could not vie with the great Florentine in modelled accuracy or purity of outline, but the charm which Michaelangelo disdained, the tints for which he had no eyes, were added by Titian to his picture, and enabled him to realize what no one finds in Michaelangelo, that is, nature in flesh and blood.

Vecelli's pleasure at sight of antiques with which he was previously unacquainted, was described by Bembo. We can fancy the interest with which he looked at the Cupid "of Praxiteles," of which there were replicas in the galleries of the Vatican.* He noted the move-

* This Cupid, in the Vatican Collection (Mus. Chiaramonti), stands winged, with his two arms raised, as if he had just used his bow. He looks as it were in the direction of the arrow which he

ment of the god, who seems to look out after discharging his arrow. With a power of assimilation which is truly marvellous, he mastered the laws of motion illustrated in the statue, divined the classic method of interpreting form, committed to memory its grand disposal of lines, and reproduced them in his own peculiar way in the boy at the feet of Danae. He did this by reversing the action of the legs and frame, and altering the turn of the head, and thus produced something original that reminds us of the Greeks. And so Titian, verging on seventy, went on adding to the store gathered during a long and industrious life, and, never satisfied, never still, but always novel, he preserved an unflagging energy and power, which enabled him to live and to work till he nearly completed a century of existence.*

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has shot. A replica is in the Museum of the Capitol.

* The "Danae," now No. 5 in the Correggio Saloon of the Naples Museum, was painted for Ottavio Farnese (Ridolfi, Marav. i. 231). It was in the Farnese Collection till after 1680. (Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, p. 212.) Its size is 2 brac. 2⅓ oncie h., by 3 b. 1⅓ o. The whole picture has been unevenly cleaned, and in many parts retouched; it is out of focus in consequence. But these are old injuries, as the surface is still covered with old and yellow varnish. The parts retouched are the head of Danae, in those portions which lie under the shadow of the cloud, the hair having lost its shape, and the shadows of Cupid, which are weakened by stippling. See the engraving by Strange.

A replica called "Danae, with a boy, by Titian," is catalogued in an inventory of pictures belonging to Prince Pio of Savoy, at Rome, in 1776. (Citadella, Notizie, *u. s.*, p. 556.)

Copies of the picture were frequently made, one of which, by Francesco Quattro Case, was in the Farnese Collection (Campori, Cataloghi, p. 280) in 1680.

Of extant reproductions the following are to be noted:

Nostitz Collection at Prague.—Under the name of Paul Veronese we have here a cold and not uninjured work on canvas, executed with care, but feebly, and appa-

During the days which Titian spent in carrying out this picture, the Farnese princes were deep in secret intrigues for the promotion of their dynastic interests. As it often happens in families whose members are jealous and unscrupulous, there was no love lost between the relatives. Pier Luigi had been made Duke of Parma and Piacenza in August, 1545. Ottavio, Margaret his wife, and Charles the Fifth, were the more disgusted at his success, as the Emperor had instructed Andelot, his envoy at Rome, to urge the claims of his son-in-law with the greatest persistence. But Paul rebuked the selfishness of the son who envied his father's elevation, and both he and Luigi were satisfied that Charles would accept the appointment, when made, in remembrance of the dangers that might accrue from a breach with the Pope at the opening of a general council, and on the eve of a war with the protestants of Germany. Little did Paul or the Duke know how deeply Charles would resent the trick, and how terrible his revenge would be. He dissembled, but never acknowledged the title

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rently by a stranger who studied Venetian masterpieces after Titian's time.

Dudley House.—This is smaller than the foregoing, by an artist of the Venetian School in its decline. The background here is all dark.

Venice Academy, No. 347.—Here is a copy, with varieties, assigned to Contarini.

A fourth reproduction is that which formerly belonged to Lord Northwick.

We shall see that the subject was repeated in later years by Titian, and multiplied excessively.

A "sketch for a larger picture in the Naples Museum," assigned to Titian, in the collection of Sir Richard Wallace, No. 316 of Bethnal Green Exhibition, is not, as it purports to be, executed before, but after Titian's great original, and is clearly not by Titian.

of Pier Luigi, and he even forgot that Ottavio had acquired his father's discarded dignity, and insulted the Duke of Parma by calling him, in public dispatches, Duke of Castro.

In Titian's portraits of the Pope, the Cardinal, and Ottavio, some of the passions roused by these events appear distinctly reflected. Paul, in his arm-chair in one of the rooms of the Vatican, sits deep and bent as an old man of eighty would necessarily sit whose frame is worn by anger and care. His body is turned to the left; the red cap is pressed down over his forehead so as to touch the brows, and the red cape is buttoned closely down the breast, whilst both it and the white silk robe that falls to the toes of his red-slippered feet are lined with fur. On the red cloth of the table upon which the right hand rests, an hour-glass symbolizes the shortness of even a pontiff's life. At the back of the chair, and with one hand on the ball of it, Cardinal Farnese, in robes and cap of office, stands musing as he looks at the spectator. To the right, and more in front, Ottavio comes in bareheaded, and obsequiously bowing, a black-plumed hat in his gloved hand, his fingers on the sheath of a rapier. Doublet, mantle, and slashed sleeves are coloured in various shades of brown. His sleeves are worn over long tight hose; and behind him a curtain of orange stuff hangs in grand festoons. At his grandson's approach, and notwithstanding the humility of his obeisance, the Pope turns his head with a quick and irritable motion, and grasps with force the arm of his chair as he looks round sharply, even angrily, to chide.

Though sketchy, Paul's features are all life, the glance is penetrant, the motion rapid. The ear is a mere stroke of paint, the beard blocked in with grey. The cap is a rubbing of crimson, like the rochet on which the lights are thrown in white dashes, whilst the darks are thick with lake, and the right hand is indicated with clear flake on the bright undertone of the table-cloth. The Cardinal's face, more modelled and finished, is turned to the right, and full of freshness, the nose, the eyes, and mouth admirable in regularity, the beard and hair dark chestnut. Ottavio, tall, thin, almost cringing, is in profile, with thick cropped hair of brownish hue, and a slight moustache. His nose is slightly hooked, his chin small and bare. The body and legs are mere splashes of paint, the rapier a line or two of pigment. "White, red, and black, these are all the colours that a painter needs;" but, as Titian, according to a tradition still preserved, was heard to say, "one must know how to use them;" and in this the master's power lay. Nothing can be more simple than the means, but what mastery they show in the application. Singularly good as a composition, the group is varied with such skill, the movements are so natural and instantaneous, the life in the sitters is so cleverly concentrated in a single moment, that the effect is overpowering; and it is probably impossible to point out a finer set of contrasts than those produced by the measured bend of Ottavio, the instant turn of the Pope, and the steady calm of the Cardinal. One can fancy Paul surprised at the coming of Ottavio, charging him with intriguing against his father, Alessandro

looking on at the lesson; and it may be that Titian was a witness of the scene, whilst the cleverness with which he reproduced it afterwards irritated the chief actor, and caused the canvas to be set aside, and left incomplete. As it is, we have a rare opportunity of observing how Titian worked, how easy he could feel in competing with Michaelangelo or Del Piombo, how well Venetian art could repose on its own laurels, with what facility grand form could be allied to rich and vivid colour. Laid on first with broad sweeps of brush in the thinnest of shades, the surfaces appear to have been worked over and coloured more highly with successive layers of pigment of similar quality, and modelled in the process to a delicate finish. The shadows were struck *in* with the same power as they were struck *out* in chips in the statues of Michaelangelo. The accessories were all prepared in well-marked tints, subject to toning down by glazing, smirch, or scumble. White in light, dark in shadow, indicate forms, the whole blended into harmony by transparents, broken at last by flat masses of high light, and concrete touch.*

* This picture, on canvas, is No. 17 in the Grand Saloon of the Naples Museum. It is noted in the Farnese inventory (Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, p. 237) as an "*abbozzo.*" The figures are full length and of life size. The colours are scaling in several places; and there are repainted bits in the left eye and forehead, and the white robe of the pontiff, as well as in the gloved right hand and legs of Ottavio. A small copy on canvas, in the Academy of San Luca, passes erroneously for an original sketch. It was bequeathed to the Academy by the painter Pellegrini, and is an old Venetian picture, in which the parts left unfinished in Titian's original are cleverly completed by a more modern hand.

CHAPTER IV.

Sansovino meets with a mishap at Venice.—His imprisonment.—He is liberated by Titian's interest.—Negotiations for the Benefice of Colle.—Doge Donato succeeds Doge Lando, and allows Titian to remain at Rome.—Portraits executed for the Duke of Urbino.—Titian's return to Venice.—He visits Florence, and paints again the Portrait of Pier Luigi Farnese.—Portraits of Doge Donato, Giovanni de' Medici, and Lavinia.—Cardinal Farnese visits Venice.—Marriage of Giudubaldo II.—Marriage of Orazio Vecelli.—Titian asks for the Piombo, and receives the promise of it.—Altar-piece of Serravalle.—Titian and Raphael.—The Cartoons, and especially the "Miraculous Draught."—"Venus and Adonis."—Disciples at Emmaus.—"Recumbent Venus and Cupid" at Florence.—"Venus and the Organ-player" at Madrid.—Replicas and Copies.—The "Ecce Homo" at Madrid.

WHILST Titian was enjoying honours and hard work at Rome, Sansovino was meeting with serious misfortune at Venice. Being architect of St. Mark, Sansovino had for some time been engaged in erecting the library in which it was proposed to deposit the books bequeathed to the State by Petrarch and Cardinal Bessarion. The great hall of this building, which still lines the Piazzetta and Grand Canal, had been greatly advanced in autumn, and arched over in winter. On the 18th of December, 1545, it fell in with a crash, burying in the ruins the money of the republic and the fame of the builder.* Sansovino

* Temenza's Sansovino, *u. s.* p. 30.

had scarcely heard of the disaster when he was arrested and imprisoned on a charge of culpable negligence. Aretino wrote to Titian in despair at this mishap, which deprived his friend of liberty, and threatened his very existence.* The utmost efforts were made by Bembo, Mendozza, and Aretino himself to mitigate the blow;† but Titian's interest appears to have been most efficacious.‡ Francesco Donato, an old and tried friend of the "Academy," had just succeeded Pietro Lando as Doge,§ he had been sitting to Titian as Titian started for Rome; other friends were members of the Council of Ten. By a judicious use of this interest Sansovino was liberated, and a few months later reinstated, the fine of a thousand pieces in which he was mulcted having been remitted.‖

Francesco Donato might have required the instant return of Titian from Rome, where it was not possible that he could perform the duty of taking a ducal portrait, but being favourably inclined to the master, he merely sent a greeting and compliments by Aretino. It was of good omen, the latter thought, that Titian should not have finished "Donato as a Senator." It was clearly preordained that he should represent him in a diadem. Titian sent his respects to the Doge in

* Aretino to Titian, in Lettere, *u. s.* iii. 360.

† Temenza, p. 31; Bembo to Sansovino, Rome, Oct. 23, 1546, in Bembo, Op. ix. 488.

‡ Beltrame (*u. s.* p. 46) says that it was entirely due to Titian that Sansovino was released. His statement apparently rests on public records; but, unhappily, they are not quoted.

§ No. 8, 1545, Doge Lando died.

‖ Aretino to Sansovino, Lettere, iv. 157.

December, and the Doge returned the compliment in January without imperiously commanding the painter's presence.*

Thus encouraged to prolong his absence, Titian continued his labours for the Farnese, and urged with his usual persistence the claim of his son to the benefice of Colle. Sertorio, Abbot of Nonantolo, had long since, as we observed, consented to cede the abbey for a consideration; but behind Sertorio there were two powerful persons with jealous interests to conciliate, and Cardinal Farnese, though he had the will had not as yet found the way to satisfy these persons. In May, 1546, the Abbot wrote to Farnese to say that whilst his Eminence was asking for the benefice for Titian, the Duke of Ferrara and Cardinal Salviati were coveting it for some of their friends. "He (Sertorio) would be well content to accept compensation, but he could not part with the sinecure without the consent of Ferrara and Salviati."† So the days went by and the benefice was not obtained, and Titian was forced to leave the papal court without the solid advantages which he had expected to reap.‡

In his leisure hours he had found time to complete several portraits for the Duke of Urbino.§ These he doubtless sent direct to their destination, his own road

* Aretino to Titian, Lettere iii. 309, 329.

† See the letter in Ronchini's Relazioni di Tiziano coi Farnesi, *u. s.* p. 6.

‡ Vasari and Ridolfi both thought that Titian now got a benefice, and Ridolfi even speaks of a bishoprick; but this is an error. See *postea*, and compare Vas. xiii. 36, and Ridolfi, Maraviglie, i. 233.

§ Vasari, xiii. 36.

lying through Florence, where he wished to make further acquaintance with the masterpieces of Tuscan art. On the 12th of June, 1546, Aretino wrote to Duke Cosimo to say that if Titian came to visit him he should at least say that he had seen the likeness of Aretino.* The Duke hardly vouchsafed to answer this appeal. He received Titian about mid-June at Poggio a Caiano, and refused to sit to him, mindful perhaps of the claims of Florentine artists to commissions of this sort, possibly disinclined to admire a style so different from that of Pontormo, Bronzino, and Allori.† Titian consoled himself by looking round the churches and palaces of Florence, and admiring their contents.‡ After a short stay he proceeded to Venice, taking, it may be, on his way Piacenza, where Pier Luigi Farnese was vainly striving to consolidate his vacillating throne. Historians tell us that this prince, previous to his death by violence in 1547, was so reduced in body by disease that he looked like a walking corpse.§ In this form, and lean from sickness, we find him represented in a picture at Naples ascribed to Titian. Injured as this canvas appears to have been by time, neglect, and ill-treatment, it still looks as if it might have been executed by the great Venetian to whom it is assigned, and if this be so there are but two hypotheses that will bear to be stated respecting it. Pier Luigi was not at Rome during the time of Titian's stay. The portrait was therefore

* Gaye Carteggio, ii. p. 351.
† Vas., xiii. 36.
‡ Ib. ib.
§ Affo., *u. s.* p. 193.

painted from a sketch taken at Piacenza, or from a sketch sent to Titian at Venice. The characteristic feature is the leanness of the Duke, who stands bare-headed in armour, with a dagger in one hand and a baton in the other, near a helmeted soldier whose arm supports the standard of Parma. One sees that the features are those depicted three years earlier at Bologna; but that care has worn the flesh of the face down to the bone. The hollows of the temples, cheeks, and eyes, are marked; the eye has lost its fire, the lip its colour. Besides, the surface is worn to a raw dryness of substance wherever it is not covered with new paint or lost in abrasions. Another year was to pass, and then Pier Luigi was to fall before the daggers of assassins suborned by Charles the Fifth and his general Ferrante Gonzaga.*

In his old haunts at Venice, Titian found no change to notice. Aretino as usual kept open house on the Grand Canal. Sansovino had recovered from his misfortunes, and was making a new ceiling to the hall of the library. The Papal Legate Giovanni della Casa, a close adherent of the Farnese, and an old friend of Bembo and the Quirinis, welcomed the painter to his palace, and there Titian was soon asked to meet Count Cesare Boschetti, and Galeazzo Paleotti, relatives of Sertorio, Abbot of Nonantola.

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* This picture, No. 33 in the Museum of Naples, is on canvas, of life size, and seen to the waist. It is registered in the Farnese inventory of 1680 as an original Titian (Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi, p. 233). The standard in the soldier's hand is of a reddish yellow; the ground behind dark brown.

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE AT ROME.

"On reaching Venice, I found Galeazzo Paleotti in the house of the Right Reverend the Legate, who spoke of the benefice of Ceneda as reported to him by the Archbishop of Santa Severina; and as your Eminence, he said, had heard by his letters and those of the Archbishop. All that remains to be done, now that matters are in train, is to keep the thing going, and obtain from Cardinal Salviati and the Duke of Ferrara the licence which Monsignor requires. The Archbishop willingly gives way to your Eminence's pleasure, whom I now beg to provide for his Reverence's satisfaction. And so I hope to enjoy contentment in old age, and obtain for the rest of my life wherewithal to work upon and toil in your Lordship's service without further thought of care.

"*From* VENICE, *June* 19, 1546." *

When the painter wrote this letter he seemed clearly under the impression that sooner or later he would enter the household of Farnese. But as regards the benefice and his chance of getting it, he was wide of the mark. At home and at ease in Rome, the Cardinal might have worked with effect on the Duke of Ferrara and his colleague Salviati; but he was no longer at home, or if so, no longer at ease. Charles the Fifth had broken with the Protestant princes. The Pope and his allies had entered into a league with the Emperor. Ottavio Farnese

* See the original letter in Ronchini, Relazioni, *u. s.* p. 8.

was raising Italian troops to pass the Alps into the valley of the Danube, and Alessandro was preparing to cross into Germany as legate. It was obvious that under these circumstances the patronage of the Farnese princes must dwindle to nothing, and Titian looked round for other supporters.

Now no doubt he composed afresh the "Descent of the Holy Spirit" for the canons of San Spirito, now he began the altarpiece of Serravalle, produced for Aretino the long-desired picture of Giovanni de' Medici,* and took sittings from the Doge for his official likeness.

Francesco Donato was specially pleased, we may think, to be portrayed by the hand of Titian, but his portrait was not preserved.†

The profile of Giovanni de' Medici, after hanging for some years in the palace of Aretino, was presented to Duke Cosimo, and is now exhibited in the gallery of the Uffizi.‡

We may remember that when Aretino, late in 1526, was called upon to tend the couch of his master at Mantua, the young but already celebrated leader of the "black bands" was suffering from a gunshot wound which made an operation necessary. Amputation of the shattered limb took place, and of this the wounded man died. As Giovanni lay dead on his

* Aretino to Duke Cosimo, Dec. 30, 1546, in Bottari, Raccolta, iii. 67.

† The payment in Lorenzi, *ex. s.* p. 259. The canvas perished by fire in 1577. But Ridolfi (Mar. i. 263) notes a second portrait of Doge Donato in the Procuratie at Venice, which is also missing.

‡ Aretino to Cosimo, Bottari, Raccolta, i. 67.

bed, Aretino sent for Giulio Romano, and had a cast taken of the chieftain's face.* This cast was subsequently lent to numerous artists, and amongst others, to Titian, who now revived with its assistance the form of the "Condottiere."† Like many earlier pieces produced under similar conditions, this looks as if it had been done from life. The chieftain stands, beardless, in profile to the left, and is seen to the waist in armour, with his hand on a helmet on which the blow of a sword is apparent. A red hanging acts as a foil to the cold surface of the canvas, as well as to a face of regular shape, with lineaments indicative of strength and determined purpose; and the bold freedom with which the flesh is painted is only equalled by the skill with which the polish of the breastplate is represented. With difficulty we note that the warm flesh tones are more blended and more uniformly rounded than they might have been had the Medici been sitting to Titian. But this impression is almost obliterated when we look at the studied reflexes of the panoply, which were certainly copied with unexampled fidelity from nature.‡

In quiet hours, when undisturbed by any but purely artistic considerations, Titian threw more soul and feeling into his work, and this is more particularly true

* Aretino to Anichini, Lettere iii. 82.

† The same to Sansovino and Parasio, Lettere iii. 137, and v. 176.

‡ This canvas, now No. 614 at the Uffizi, gives the likeness of Giovanni de' Medici to the waist. The figure is life size. An engraving of it is in the "Galleria di Firenze."

of a contemporary portrait in the Dresden Museum, the features of which are apparently those of Lavinia Vecelli. Scanelli, the author of the Microcosmo, has preserved the substance of a letter in which Titian announced to Alfonso of Ferrara the despatch of a picture "representing the person dearest to him in all the world." He then describes "the figure of a young girl, of life size, gracefully walking with her face at three quarters, and looking out brightly as she waves her fan—the time, a summer afternoon, when the girl, one might think, was courted by her exalted lover."* The portrait admired by Scanelli is no doubt that of the young girl in white at the Dresden Museum. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this lovely maid was painted for Alfonso, *a fortiori* a mistake to believe that she was the mistress of a prince who died in 1534, nor can we believe that Titian portrayed the person dearest to the duke, since it is apparent that he meant to immortalize the face and form of his own daughter. We shall presently see that he often painted Lavinia, whose real name was curiously changed to Cornelia by writers of a later age.† Though unfortunate in his eldest son Pomponio, who disgraced the priest's cassock and squandered his father's means in debauchery, Titian was happy in the affection of two children worthy of his love, Orazio, who accompanied him to Rome and gave numerous proofs of pictorial skill, and Lavinia, a beauty who married Cornelio Sarcinelli of Serravalle

* Microcosmo, *u. s.* p. 222. † Ridolfi, Mar. i. 253, 259.

in 1555. Ridolfi refers to Lavinia when he describes "a maiden carrying a basket of fruit," by Titian, in possession of Niccolò Crasso, and "a girl holding a basin with two melons," by the same hand, in the collection of Giovanni d' Uffel of Antwerp. Of both he writes, "that they were said to represent the painter's daughter Cornelia."* We remember the adventures of Covos with the lady in waiting of Countess Pepoli, and pardon the error which confounded the maid of Bologna with that of Biri Grande. The girl with the fruit is still preserved in the Museum of Berlin, and is probably that which was claimed as a portrait of Lavinia by Argentina Rangone in 1549. There were relations of friendship between the Rangones and Titian in that year, and Argentina proposed to the painter to take one of her dependents as an apprentice into his workshop at Venice. In the letter which she wrote upon this matter she refers to Lavinia's portrait, which she begs Titian to complete; and we can easily fancy that the master instantly attended to the wish of a lady who was godmother to one of his children.† The counterparts of the canvas at Berlin are the portrait of a lass with a casket in Lord Cowper's collection, and "Salome" in the gallery of Madrid, both of which display with more or less resemblance the features of the girl at the Dresden Museum.

Titian at eighty-two wrote to Philip the Second begging him to accept the portrait of a lady whom

* Ib. ib. † The letter is in Gaye's Carteggio, *u. s.* ii. p. 375.

he described as "absolute mistress of his soul,"* but Garcia Hernandez, the Spanish Secretary at Venice, explains in another letter that the mistress of Titian's soul is "a fanciful representation of a Turkish or Persian girl."† Yet what Titian described so fondly to the Duke and to the King may have been the face of Lavinia, in the first case portrayed from nature, in the second idealized to suit the fancy of Philip. Scanelli, it is more than probable, erred in stating that Titian wrote to Alfonso, when it is obvious that the girl with the leaf-fan at Dresden is a creation of the time when Titian returned from Rome. From the first stroke to the last this beautiful piece is the work of the master, and there is not an inch of it in which his hand is not to be traced. His is the brilliant flesh brought up to a rosy carnation by wondrous kneading of copious pigment, his the contours formed by texture and not defined by outline; his again the mixture of sharp and blurred touches, the delicate modelling in dazzling light; the soft glazing, cherry lip, and sparkling eye. Such a charming vision as this was well fitted to twine itself round a father's heart.

Lavinia's hair is yellow and strewed with pearls, showing a pretty wave and irrepressible curls in stray locks on the forehead. Earrings, a necklace of pearls, glitter with grey reflexions on a skin incomparably fair. The gauze on the shoulders is light as air, and contrasts with the stiff richness of a white

* Titian to Philip II., Sept. 22, 1559, in Appendix.

† Garcia Hernandez to Philip II., Aug. 3, 1559, in Appendix.

damask-silk dress and skirt, the folds of which heave and sink in shallow projections and depressions, touched in tender scales of yellow or ashen white. The left hand, with its bracelet of pearls, hangs gracefully as it tucks up the train of the gown, whilst the right is raised no higher than the waist, to wave the stiff plaited leaf of a palmetto fan. Without any methodical strapping or adjustment of shape,—nay with something formless in the stiff span and lacing of the bodice,—the figure is the very reverse of supple, and yet it moves with grace, shows youth and life and smiling contentment, and a striking grandeur of carriage, combined with ladylike modesty.*

When the master, in more advanced years, painted the well-known picture of which Van Dyke made an etching—a picture in which the lady's interesting situation and Titian's gesture, as well as the death's head in the left foreground, suggest philosophical reflections as to the contrast between life and death; when Titian, we say, was producing a master-piece, of which but a copy has been preserved, he presented anew, it may be thought, the form of his daughter,

* This portrait came, with the rest of the Dresden pictures, from Modena, and is an heirloom of the Estes. On canvas, 3 ft. 8 in. h. by 3 ft. 1 in., it was transferred to a new cloth in 1827, and looks fairly preserved. The brown ground is darker on the left than on the right side. Photograph by the Photographic Co., engraved by Basan. A free copy on canvas, ascribed to Titian, is No. 21 in the Cassel Mus. But the features are not the same as those of the Dresden canvas, and the hand is not that of Titian, though the copyist may have been an Italian. More Flemish in type is a copy by Rubens in the Museum of Vienna. A study for the original at Dresden, in black and red chalk, is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna.

whose face, with slight modifications, is no other than that of the Dresden portrait; whose figure is that of Lavinia grown to be a matron, but still youthful in features, and of extreme beauty.* Subsequent repetitions of the same person as a girl bearing fruit and flowers, or as Salome raising on high the head of the Baptist, merely served to fix a type which, whether it issued from Titian's own hands or those of his disciples, preserved always the aspect of youth.

As depicted in the broad manner characteristic of Titian about 1550, Lavinia, at Berlin, is full-grown but of robust shape, dressed in yellowish flowered silk with slashed sleeves, a chiselled girdle round her waist, and a white veil hanging from her shoulders. Seen in profile, she raises with both hands, to the level of her forehead, a silver dish piled with fruit and flowers. Her head is thrown back, and turned so as to allow three-quarters of it to be seen as she looks from the corners of her eyes at the spectator. Auburn hair is carefully brushed off the temples, and confined by a jewelled diadem, and the neck is set off with a string of pearls. A deep red curtain partly concealing a brown-tinged wall to the left, to the right a view of hills, seen from a balcony at eventide, complete a picture executed with great *bravura*, on a canvas of

* The copy to which allusion is here made is that which Waagen, in his Treasures (Supplement, p. 110), has described in the collection of Mr. James Morrison, in London, as betraying in part the hand of a scholar. The picture was not seen by the authors. The engraving was mentioned in notes to an earlier chapter of this volume, and exists in two different impressions, with inscriptions which will be found in Cadorin's Dello Amore, p. 79.

coarse twill. Fully in keeping with the idea that Titian had before him the image of his child, is the natural and unconstrained movement, the open face and modest look. The flesh, the dress, are coloured with great richness, yet, perhaps, with more of the blurred softness which the French call *flou*, than is usual in pure works of Titian. It may be that excessive blending and something like down or fluff in the touch was caused by time, restoring, or varnish. It may be that these blemishes are due to the co-operation of Orazio Vecelli, who now had a share in almost all the pictures of his father, as he had his confidence in all business transactions. But in the main this is a grand creation of Titian.*

Of equal richness in tone, but inferior in modelling, and too marked in its freedom to be entirely by Titian, Lavinia with the casket, in Lord Cowper's London collection, is still interesting as showing the well-known features of the painter's daughter in fuller bloom than at Berlin. The casket here also lies on a silver dish, there is a distance of landscape too, but the balcony is wanting, the dress is green, the veil yellow, and the face is cut into planes of more decided

* This example of Lavinia is No. 166 in the Berlin Museum, and measures 3 ft. 3½ in. high, by 2 ft. 7½ in. The figure is seen to the hips. A tawny film of old varnish lies over the whole surface, and there are clear signs of retouching in the shadows of the face, the wrists, and right hand, and the sky. A strip of canvas has been added to the right side of the picture, which was bought in 1832 from Abbate Celotti, at Florence, for 5000 thalers. The Abbate affirmed it was identical with that mentioned by Ridolfi as painted for Niccolò Crasso.

setting, whilst the frame is stronger and more developed than before. There is more ease of hand, but also more laxity in the rendering of form than we like to welcome in a picture all by Titian. But again in this, as in the Berlin example, much of the impression produced may be caused by restoring.*

Younger again, but with naked arms, a white veil and sleeve, and a red damask dress, the "Salomè" of Madrid carries the head of the Baptist on a chased salver. But this piece is by no means equal in merit to the girl with the casket, and is certainly painted by one of Titian's followers, from the Lavinia of Berlin.†

An accident which occurred about this time revived

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* This canvas, with a figure of life size, is retouched in the hands, and disfigured by a patch of restoring on the shoulder. It was in the Orleans Gallery before it passed into the hands of Lord Cowper, and was noted in the collections of Lady Lucas and Lady de Grey. (Waagen, Treasures, ii. 497.) Engraved by Guibert.

One of Hollar's prints (1650), taken from a picture in the Van Veerle Collection, of which we know nothing at present, shows Lavinia with a dish on which there are three melons.

† This picture, No. 461 in the Madrid Museum, has been well photographed by Laurent. It is on canvas, m. 0.87 high, by 0.80, and ill preserved, being repainted in several places, and particularly in the cheek and near the elbow of the right arm. The background is a dark wall. A copy of this picture, by Padovanino, is No. 288 in the Municipal Gallery at Padua.

A copy of the head of the Berlin picture (erroneously supposed by Waagen—Gemälde Sammlung der Ermitage, *u. s.*, p. 62—to be a fragment of a canvas of the Barbarigo Collection by Titian) is No. 104 in the Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and not original. It has been supposed that the Madrid "Salomè" is the picture described in the catalogue of Charles the First's collection as by Titian. (Waagen, Treasures, ii. 480.) But this is only a surmise, and if an unfounded one, the "Salomè" of Charles the First is missing.

the hope which Titian had long entertained of permanent aid from the Farnese princes. Cardinal Alessandro had crossed the Alps in July, 1546, with the troops of his brother Ottavio, and found himself in August at Ingoldstadt, where the Emperor was facing the Protestants of the league under John Frederick of Saxony. During the marches and counter-marches of the contending armies the light forces of the Italians and Spaniards were active and fortunate. As autumn set in, and a standing camp was pitched in the neighbourhood of Ulm, the cold reacted severely on the soldiers of the South, who perished in vast numbers of dysentery. Cardinal Farnese was attacked by a tertian fever, which made it advisable that he should seek the warmer climate of his own land; and he returned on the 22nd of November to Venice to find his brother legate and client, Giovanni della Casa, suffering from a violent attack of gout.* During the intervals in which he was free from ague the Cardinal visited Titian, who showed him pictures in various stages of progress on the walls of his house; and he asked the painter to finish one of these pictures for him.† Titian was but the more ready to make this promise, as Farnese was going to Rome, and he hoped would again take steps to obtain for him the benefice of Colle. Other events

* Ronchini, Lettere d'uomini illustri, *u. s.* pp. 155—163. Titian to Farnese, Dec. 24, 1547, in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.* p. 10, and Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, 8vo, Berlin, 1843, vol. iv. p. 438.

† Titian to Farnese, Dec. 24, *antea*.

took place shortly after, which seemed calculated to be fruitful of further consequences. On the 18th of February, 1547, Julia Varana died and left the Duke of Urbino a widower. With indecent haste Guidubaldo entered into negotiations for a new matrimonial alliance, and on the 4th of June he espoused at Rome Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese. Hardly a fortnight after the celebration of the nuptials, Sebastian del Piombo also died, leaving the seals of the papal bulls in the hands of Paul the Third. Titian, who had married and settled his second son, Orazio, in April,* was not slow to perceive that a change of residence would now give him a place as well as the joint interest of the Roveres and Farneses. He accordingly wrote to the Cardinal to offer his services and beg for the heritage of Sebastian.

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE, AT ROME.

"Though he has had no message and no embassy to press him to furnish the picture of your Reverend Lordship, Titian, your humble and most devoted servant, has not failed to bring it to that ultimate perfection of which his pencil is capable, and keeps it ready for an expression of your Lordship's desire. As I should acquire the greatest praise and immortal honour in the eyes of the world if it should be known for certain to all as it is known to myself, that I live under the shadow of the high bounty and

* Aretino to Orazio Vecelli, Venice, April, 1547, in Lettere di M. P. A. iv. 79ᵛ.

courtesy of your Reverend and Illustrious Lordship, I would beg your Lordship, in order that I may remain in this credit, and now that I am free from every care that might reach me here, to prepare to employ me and give me commands; and I am ready to obey these commands *even though* your Lordship should impose on me for the third time the acceptance of the cowl of the late Fra Bastiano. And so I bow most humbly and kiss your Lordship's hands.

"Your Most Rev. and Ill. Lordship's
perpetual servant,
"TITIANO.*

"*From* VENICE, *June* 18, 1547."

A fortnight later Giovanni della Casa wrote to the Cardinal to say that the Duke of Urbino had arrived at Venice in perfect health, that Titian had been informed that the seals of the Piombo were reserved for his acceptance, and that he had already asked whether anything had been done in respect of this promotion. "It seems to me," Della Casa concluded, "that Titian is more inclined to accept the place now than he was on former occasions, and it would be very desirable that your Lordship should acquire such an ornament as he is for the court of his Holiness."†

How well we mark in this the canny nature of the painter, a born negotiator, who begged the patron direct for a vacancy, yet pretended to his agent to be only inclined to take it if offered.

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* Ronchini, Relazioni, *u. s.* pp. 8, 9.

† Ronchini, Lettere d'uomini illustri, *u. s.* i. pp. 191—4.

Months, as we see, went by in the course of these transactions, but Titian during those months finished the altar-piece of Serravalle and other works, of which we have uncertain or incoherent notices.

The people of Serravalle had not at first intended to ask Titian for an altar-piece. But Francesco Vecelli, to whom they had originally applied, had produced a sketch which they did not approve; and when they withdrew their offer he suggested an application to his brother which found their willing support.* In 1547, Titian wrote to the council of the church of Serravalle to say that he had finished and wished them to send for the picture. At their request, —he subjoined—the figure of St. Peter had been substituted for that of St. Vincent, and this had caused a surcharge of 25 ducats. The council protested against this claim, asked Titian to deliver the canvas at Serravalle, and bargained for the payment of the stipulated price. The quarrel which ensued was not settled till 1553, but the picture was not subsequently altered, and though injured still gives account of the progress which the master's art had made after it felt the influence of the Florentine and Roman schools.

A massive and eddying cloud serves as a throne to the Virgin and Child, both of whom are looking down towards the earth, surrounded by cherubim floating in the brilliant haze of a glory. An angel to the right bends to single out St. Peter below. Another stoops to support with his hand the foot of Mary.

* See Appendix, anno 1542, and Ciani, Storia, *u. s.*, ii. 294.

St. Peter, grey-bearded, on the right foreground raises his head and lifts the keys towards heaven, his frame enwrapped in a cinnamon cloth twisted over a peach-tinted robe; St. Andrew, opposite to him, stands with sandaled feet, clad in an olive-green dress and red mantle, and supports with both arms the heavy beam of a tall cross, looking round as he does so with stern majesty at the spectator. In the distance between the two, Christ, in the bow of a fishing boat, calls Peter and Andrew from their nets. Light emanates from the Virgin and radiates from her head into the vaulted sky beyond. The distance, of few but superb lines brushed in with quick sweeping strokes, presents a view of mountains with a coast bathed by a dark lake, whose waters are stirred by a breeze, before which a sail or two are running, and a marvellous current of atmosphere flows over the water and the shore. Forms more muscular and fleshy than any produced at an earlier time are conceived with sublimer grandeur and delineated with more than usual force and ease in resolute and natural movement. Draperies are cast in a monumental mould. A masterly division of light and shade accompanies an equally masterly definition of parts. The force of the touch is only equalled by its spaciousness, which neither excludes modelling nor delicate blending, whilst a pulpy pastose substance is produced that rivals the flesh and bone and muscle of nature.

Little did the council of Serravalle know, whilst quarrelling over a few ducats, that this picture resumed the art of Titian as embodied in the "Peter

Martyr" and "St. John the Almsgiver," and marked a step in advance of all the master's previous works. Powerful as Michaelangelo in the strength and serenity of the principal figures, it recalls the tempered and dainty grace of Raphael and Correggio in the golden sheen of its glory, and unites the sprightly elegance of the Madonna of San Niccolò to the breadth and style of a later age. More than this, it shows the ingenuity of the painter in taking stock of the ideas of his contemporaries and adapting some of them in a novel and picturesque way. In the distance we observed is the miraculous draught of fishes. Raphael in 1516 finished the great set of cartoons in which he illustrated the life of Christ and the Acts of the Apostles. On St. Stephen's day the tapestries worked from these cartoons were exhibited for the first time in the Sixtine chapel. From this time forward the cartoons were in the main lost to Italy, but the arras for which they were made remained a treasure closely guarded in the papal palace. A notice embroidered on the cloth of the Conversion of St. Paul at the Vatican tells that this piece was stolen at the sack of Rome in 1527 and restored to Julius the Third in 1553 by Anne de Montmorency, and this notice is supposed to refer to the theft and restitution of all the tapestries made from Raphael's designs. But it is difficult to reconcile this version with history, which declares that the tapestries were hung in front of St. Peter's, at the festivals of Corpus Christi, by Paul the Third.*

* Compare Passavant's Life of Raphael, 1st ed., ii. p. 233.

Titian apparently saw them at Rome, where his disciple Andrea Schiavone possibly made the drawings for the plates, of which impressions are still preserved;* or he saw Raphael's original sketches, of which he made use in the altar-piece of Serravalle. The "Miraculous Draught" by Raphael exists in two different forms. The cartoon at Kensington shows Christ sitting to the right in the stern of a boat, with St. Peter on his knees before him, and St. Andrew stepping down from the thwart behind. In the second boat to the left, two men bend to the nets which they are hauling out of the water, whilst a bearded rower sits and steers. On the bank in front of the barks three cranes are standing. An earlier version of the subject is that preserved in a drawing at the Albertina of Vienna, which though heavily retouched seems an original by Raphael. Here the composition is reversed, and three apostles wait on the shore near a group of women and a child. On the back of the sheet the skiffs and figures are repeated with varieties, St. Peter kneeling before the Saviour as before, but St. Andrew giving the course, and the second crew in rear to the right. The idea of placing Christ in the middle distance and apostles in the foreground was abandoned almost as soon as formed by Sanzio, but Titian took it up and worked it out with success, feeling that there was nothing inappropriate in making the miraculous draught an episode in a picture sacred to St. Peter and St.

* Passavant's Life of Raphael, 1st ed. ii. p. 233, and Bartsch, xvi. p. 51.

Andrew. He modified Raphael's design in so far that he represented Christ erect in the bows to the left, and St. Peter kneeling before him on one knee to the right. The steersman of the second boat to the right he placed in a standing attitude guiding the skiff with his oar, as one sees the gondoliers at Venice doing. St. Andrew stepping down, the two men bending to the nets, he took bodily as he found them. He thus created something that was original out of Raphael's design, adding to the scene the colour, the movement of the waters, and the scud of the wind favourable to fishing.* He took from one of the greatest masters of the revival a thought which he assimilated and gave back in a new shape. He treated Raphael as he had previously treated the antique.

It is a punishment of which Tantalus would have been worthy to study Titian's letters and read of the pictures which he showed to patrons, and to find these works vanishing before us in the attempt to determine their subject. We know that Cardinal Farnese chose a canvas out of the master's stock in 1546, and

* The altar-piece, on canvas, arched at top, is 14 ft. high by 7 ft. broad. The figures are large as life. The whole picture was cleaned and thrown out of focus, and then in part retouched. The Virgin's dress has lost its shape in this process, and there are smirches of new pigment on parts of the dresses. The halo with the angels is more disharmonized than the rest of the picture. On a stone on the foreground we read the word "TITIAN," with a fragment of an s, which now looks like a note of interrogation. The canvas is on the high altar of the church of Serravalle, the patron of which is St. Andrew. For records referring to this piece, under date of 1548–53, see Appendix.

that Titian repeatedly declared his intention of finishing and sending it home. The will was not followed by performance, and time slipped past before the promise was fulfilled, though it was realized at last, we hardly tell how. There is only probability in favour of assuming that the "Venus and Adonis" which long adorned the Farnese collections at Parma and Rome, was one of the masterpieces of this period. Few compositions of Titian were more frequently repeated, or exist in more numbers, yet none of the finished repetitions are equal to the original sketch which is now preserved at Alnwick. Though small in scale, and not free from patching, this is a noble instance of the cleverness with which the great Cadorine treated pagan fable. The scene is laid in a landscape of splendid tone and lines. The couch of the goddess, a deep red-brown cloth on a raised mound overshadowed by trees, is set in the corner of a glade, where Venus, half lying, half sitting, with her back to the spectator, turns and clutches at the form of Adonis, who has risen and strides away to the field. The youth is already fully equipped, his feathered spear in one hand, a leash of three dogs in the other; over his red hunting shirt a horn at his waist is bound with a striped cloth; red buskins are on his legs, and a winged cap like that of Mercury on his head. He looks at Venus as she clings to him, but is not the less bent on departing, for the sun is up, Apollo in his car is riding across the heavens, and beneath him a pure morning sky sheds its light mysteriously over a deep-toned landscape. Far away

the tale of death is told after the mediæval fashion, by a distant episode, and in a grove to the right the boar attacks and wounds the hunter. Rich tones, harmonious colours, and a balmy atmosphere give additional charms to figures in themselves charming, for Venus is perfect in shape, Adonis lithe and finely proportioned, and both are well drawn, whilst the rapid action caused by quick volition is rendered with equal truth and fire.* In other versions of this theme, derived no doubt from this one original, varieties are introduced to express a fuller embodiment of the painter's thought. Amor carries a dove, Cupid sleeps under a tree, a rainbow is seen in the sky. In the first of these forms the Farnese example, of which there are copies at Leigh Court, Cobham Hall, and the Belvedere of Vienna, was created.† The second is

* This canvas, 3 ft. 4 in. long by 2 ft. 6½ in., was once in the Cammuccini and Barberini Collections. There are patches of re-painting in the back and hip of Venus, and the throat and wrist of Adonis. It may be that this is one of the sketch pictures of Titian which came into the hands of Tintoretto; or it may be that which was presented to Vincenzo Vecelli by Titian in 1562; see Appendix under that date. Ridolfi, Mar. i. 270; and Ticozzi Vecelli, note to p. 64.

† The Farnese example is noted by Ridolfi, Marav. i. 232–3. It is registered in the Parmese inventory of 1680 as follows: "Un quadro alto br. 1, on. 11 largo, br. 2, on. 4. Una Venere che siede sopra di un panno cremesi, abbraccia Adone che con la sinistra tiene duoi levrieri et un Amorino con una colomba in mano, di Tiziano." (Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, p. 211.)

The canvas at Leigh Court, seat of Sir William Miles, 5 ft. 10 in. h., by 6 ft. 8 in., belonged to Sir Benjamin West. Here Amor sleeps with a dove in his hands; Adonis, bare-headed, leads two dogs; Apollo rides on the clouds; and in the distance the boar attacks the hunter. On a tree to the left the quiver of Amor is hanging, and on the ground a vase. This copy is by some old Venetian follower of Titian.

The copy of Cobham Hall, half life size, was originally in the

found in a repetition made for Philip the Second when Prince of Spain, and in minor imitations of that work. Unhappily the Farnese example is not to be traced.

In a letter to Chancellor Granvelle, Aretino* describes the great excitement of the Venetian public when Titian was called to Augsburg, in 1547, by the Emperor. Crowds besieged his house with demands for canvases and panels, or anything else that might serve to display the talent of the master.

Alessandro Contarini, a patrician and poet, was probably one in the crowd. He bought a "Christ at Emmaus," and found it so beautiful that he presented it to the Signoria, which accepted the gift, and hung the picture in the public palace, where it remained till the close of last century.† But Titian had finished a

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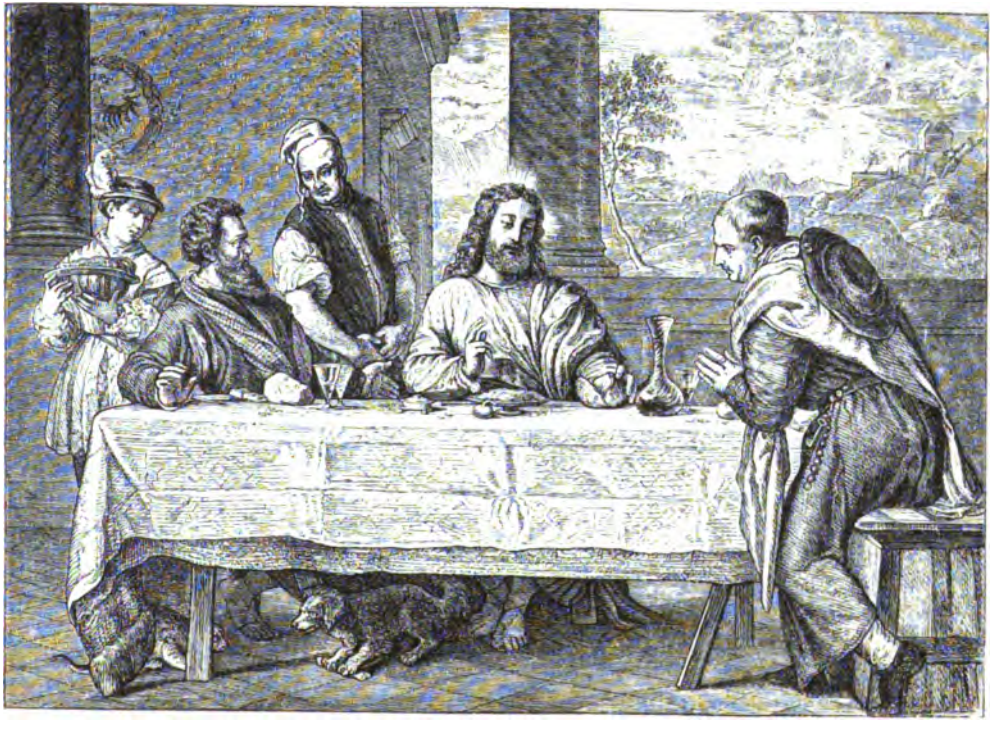
Mariscotti Collection at Bologna, and is a moderate imitation of Titian by a later artist. Here again Amor sleeps with the dove in his hand; Adonis is bare-headed, and has two dogs in a leash; instead of Apollo in his car there is a rainbow in the sky. Another copy, much injured, of this piece is No. 91 in the Venice Academy; but here, though Adonis wears the winged hat, Cupid sleeps under the trees to the left. Photograph by Naya.

The school replica, No. 54 in 1st room, first floor, of the Belvedere at Vienna, is perhaps that which belonged to the Archduke Leopold William, at Brussels, in the seventeenth century. It was engraved as by Schiavone in Teniers' gallery work, and there we still see Amor flying away with the dove, which is no longer to be seen in the picture; the spot on which that figure stood being patched with canvas and painted over of the colour of the ground. This canvas, now ill preserved (3 ft. high by 3 ft. 9), is extensively re-painted and cut down at the sides. It is a school piece, with some traces left of the hand of Schiavone. Whether any one of the foregoing is the copy which Titianello's Anonimo describes as belonging to Gio. Carlo Doria, it is impossible to say. (Anon. p. 5.)

* Aretino to Granvelle, Jan. 1548, in Lettere di M. P. A., iv. 136.

† Vasari, xiii. p. 29, saw it above the door in a room of the public palace; and this room is



CHRIST AT EMMAUS. LOUVRE.

[*To face p. 153, Vol. II.*

replica, which he sent to Mantua, and this passed, with the Gonzaga Collection, into the hands of Charles the First, and came with other Whitehall treasures into the gallery of Louis the Fourteenth.

Like many of Titian's Scripture scenes this is a humble incident in monumental surroundings. The house in which Christ "tarried" with Cleopas and Luke is a palace adorned with pillars. The table at which the Redeemer sits with his disciples is laid in a marble court, from which the view extends to the woods and dolomites of Cadore. In other respects there is something of the domestic and familiar in the way in which events are recorded. Christ is seated with Luke behind a table covered with a snowy damask cloth, the diaper of which is given with surprising skill. He blesses the bread, whilst Cleopas, to the right—his bare and close-shorn head reverently bent, and his elbows on the board,—joins hands and repeats a silent prayer. Luke, on the other side, is lost in wonder, a display of feeling which quite escapes the stolid servant serving with turned up sleeve, and the page with feathered hat, to the left, who brings in the tureen. A dog under the table growls at a cat. The whole composition commingles homeliness and grandeur, in the form familiar in after days to Paolo Veronese. Turning from this masterpiece of Titian's old age to the works of his earlier time, and comparing the "Christ at Emmaus" with the "Christ of the

described by Boschini, R. M. S. di S. Marco, p. 18; Ridolfi, Marav. i. 216; and Zanetti, Pitt. Ven. 165, as contiguous to the chapel of the Pregadi.

Tribute Money," we gauge the changes which Venetian painting underwent in the course of years. We note the progress of realism at the same time that we observe how much more bold and natural the conception of the artist has become, with what ease he has learnt to work, and what magic results his facile hand produces. Experience has given him complete command in every branch. He composes with skill, compactness, and simplicity. He disposes masses of colour, light and shade with lively boldness, and in masterly contrasts. His hand is quick yet not careless, and his modelling, where it requires finish and rounding, is still smooth and polished. His stuffs, again, have texture and tone of surprising variety, and everything, principal and accessory, contributes to a gorgeous tinted picture.*

It is possible that Titian was more than once

* This canvas, signed "TICIANUS, F.," No. 462 at the Louvre, measures m. 1.69 h. by 2.44. It is registered in Charles the First's Collection (Bathoe's Cat^e, p. 96) as "a Mantua piece . . . where Christ is sitting at the table at Emaus with his two disciples, and a boy and the host standing by." The figures are under life-size; Christ in red and blue, Cleopas in a coffee-coloured dress with a red mantle, over which a hat is hanging; Luke bearded, in profile in a deep green coat, and white and blue check scarf. The servant between Luke and Christ wears a red cap and black vest. The page has a blue cap, yellow doublet, and red sleeves. A shield on the wall above the page's head bears the double-headed imperial eagle. The picture was engraved, "in Ædibus Jabachiis," by F. Chauveau, in 1656; later by Lorichon, Masson, and Duthé. A plate of it is in Landon's work; photograph by Braun. A copy of the Louvre canvas is No. 209 in the Turin Museum, but is not original. Another copy, No. 237 in the Dresden Museum, looks like the work of Sassoferrato. Yet another was sold at the sale of the Gallery of William the Third of the Netherlands in 1850, to Mr. Roos.

required to repeat this composition. But the only extant repetition preserved by Lord Yarborough proves that the labour of multiplication was left to disciples, and more particularly to Orazio or Cesare Vecelli, who modified at will the types, the faces, and the dress without coming near to attain the grandeur and perfection of their relative and master.*

Titian did not part with his best treasures to those who fancied that once engaged with the Emperor beyond the Alps he would never return, or at least never find time to attend to the wants of less exalted patrons. Numerous pieces on his walls were only suited to adorn the palaces of the great. These he probably set apart and prepared to take with him to Augsburg, where we may believe he found a ready market for them.

Of all the masterpieces which mark this period one such as the "Venus" of Madrid would alone immortalize the master; and of this there is a counterpart, or rather an earlier rival, in the "Venus and Cupid" of Florence.

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* Lord Yarborough's canvas is signed "TITIANVS F.;" it is therefore a school piece, but very inferior to the Louvre example. Here Christ wears the green mantle of a pilgrim. The dress of Cleopas is red, that of St. Luke yellow; the cap of the page is grey, his doublet red; the vest of the servant olive green. The heads all differ from those at the Louvre, that of Cleopas being bearded. Behind Cleopas, and intercepting a landscape of different lines, is a pillar not to be found at the Louvre. It is not to be denied that this picture exactly coincides with that described by Zanetti in the public palace at Venice. (Pitt. Ven. 165.) It is much dimmed by varnish and grime, and has been retouched in various parts. In so far the present opinion held respecting it may be subject to revision.

The Greeks were acknowledged from time immemorial as the most perfect creators of form, plastic in its development, regular in its proportions, and ideal in its parts. Titian never attempted to storm the heights occupied by these heroes; justly thinking that such a giddy elevation was not to be climbed more than once. But Titian, on the other hand, was the only painter of his age who gave to the nude, as we commonly see it, the colour and flexibility of nature. If the earlier "Venus" of Florence leaves us in doubt whether Titian meant to represent a goddess, the later one suggests no such reflections. She lies on a couch of burnt lake-like velvet, the cloth of which she holds, together with a bunch of flowers, in her left hand. Her elbow rests on the lawn of the pillows on which her frame reposes. Her right arm follows and lies on the undulations of waist and hip, and she turns to listen to Cupid, who whispers as he looks over her shoulder, and puts his tiny hand on her throat. The calm and passionless character of the scene is indicated by the harmless arrow lying near the quiver at the end of the couch—a little dog at the goddess' feet sniffs at an owl perched on the balustrade which parts the bower from the gardens beyond. A vase on a table contains roses and pinks. Behind the balustrade, where curtains of stuff, sparkling with the redness of wine, close in the space, a picturesque tree shows its broad leafy vegetation and stunted branches against a clouded sky, and a scolloped lake bathing rocks or distant shore. Far away the blue mountains of a Cadorine upland are faintly seen in the twilight

of eventide, which covers more or less the whole picture. We see that the sun is going down in light grey mist without streaking the heavens with his gleam. In the dusk at a fair distance the eye gradually catches objects which become more and more distinct as we look longer at them.

Venus not only looks at Amor, but hears his whispering. The boy is arch and handsome and typical of Titian, as an angel in the Sixtine "Madonna" is typical of Raphael. His eyes are like his mother's, speaking. The group, simple as in the antique, is living and warmly coloured in a soft brown tone. The lines of the goddess's frame sweep with rounded modelling. Every flexion of it is given, and every inch of it is throbbing flesh. Not the slender youthful maid of Darmstadt lies before us, not the budding growth of the girl at Florence, but a shape of larger scantling and more dapple fulness.*

The "Venus" of Madrid, in some respects a repetition of that of Florence, shows the same lie of the body and limbs, with a different face and more womanly figure. Cupid has vanished, and the girl no longer plays with flowers, but pats the back of a cinnamon-coloured lap-dog, the bark of which disturbs a man playing an organ at the foot of the couch, who turns to chide as his hands press the keys of the instrument.

* This picture, No. 1108 at the Uffizi, is one of the heirlooms from Urbino. The figures are of life size, on canvas, and not free from damage by cleaning and stippling. The face of Venus shows a general resemblance to that of a woman's portrait inscribed with Lavinia's name in the Gallery of Dresden, of which more hereafter. Photograph by Braun, engraved by Massard.

Behind the balcony we see a long shaded walk, sheltering a couple of hunters with a dog, a deer, and a peacock standing on the edge of a fountain. Lines of trimmed trees remind us of parks and palaces rather than of Cyprus and Naxos. It would seem indeed as if distinct individuals were represented here, the girl with her bracelets and necklace of pearl, being, as it were, the divinity adored by the man at the organ, whose dress and rapier indicate birth. But it would be vain to plunge further into a mystery which we can no longer fathom.* We shall presently see that a picture very like this belonged to the Granvelles, whilst Ridolfi notes the same subject painted by Titian for Francesco Assonica of Venice.† It may be that Titian was furnished with limnings of the persons he was asked to delineate. The spectator is certainly transported from the realms of fancy to those of a peculiar civilization, in spite of which he may still find pleasure in admiring the master's skill in the painting of flesh, his art in treating surface—here as at Florence—with a breadth and power such as we expect from the great craftsman when at his best.‡

* There is some likeness in the man at the organ to Ottavio Farnese, as painted in the portrait group by Titian at Naples.

† Ridolfi (Mar. i. 253–4) says that the picture thus painted for F. A. was taken to England.

‡ No. 459 at the Madrid Museum, m. 1·36 h. by 2·30, and on canvas. This picture has been in Spain at least since 1665 (see Madrazo's Catalogue). It is said to have formed part of Charles the First's Collection. (Bathoe's Catalogue, *u. s.*, p. 96.) Of its previous history something may be said presently. It is only necessary now to observe that the surface is damaged by repeated cleaning and restoring. The head of the Venus is thus enfeebled, whilst the contours are either rubbed down or altered by retouching. The right hand of the

That this class of subject should often have been repeated by the scholars and followers of Titian was to have been expected, but the repetitions, such as we find them, in the Galleries of Madrid, Cambridge, and Dresden, are far beneath his powers.* But Titian

man at the organ is lost in a smudge. Photograph by Laurent. A copy of this picture, not an original Titian, is in the Fenaroli Collection at Brescia; another copy was sold in 1850 at the sale of the Gallery of King William II. of the Netherlands, for 1000 francs, the buyer being Mr. Brondgeest.

* The following will suffice to characterize and determine the history of these works; Madrid Museum, No. 460; canvas, m. 1·48 h. by 2·17. Though traceable to the royal palace of Madrid as early as 1665, this picture is not original. Venus lies on a couch listening to the whispers of Amor; she has no flowers in her hand, and Amor is in profile. In the main the group is taken from that of the Florentine "Venus." A man plays the organ at the foot of the couch, but he wears no rapier; in the distance is a fountain and a poplar walk. This part of the subject is derived from the Venus above described in the Madrid Gallery. Though the name "TITIANVS" is written on the wall near the man's shoulder, the picture is by some imitator of the master, and the inscription is necessarily a later addition. Photograph by Laurent.

Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum.—In the collection of Queen Christine (Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, p. 339), then in the Orleans Gallery, this picture was bought by Viscount Fitzwilliam for £1000. The following was the description of it: "Picture of Venus on a red velvet couch, the left arm on a white cloth, a flute in her other hand. In front of her a violin and open music book. An amorino crowns her head; at her feet, and on her couch, a man showing his back playing a lute; distance a landscape by Titian." This picture is now exhibited under Titian's name at Cambridge, and numbered 14; it is on canvas. Here again we have a mixture of the figures at Madrid and Florence. The forms of the woman are heavy and coarse, the drawing defective, and the painter is probably an imitator of the early part of the seventeenth century. On the music book we read the word "TENOR." The surface is much injured, the red hanging behind the girl being all repainted, Amor much retouched, and the whole canvas grimed with old varnish. Sir A. Hume (Life of Titian, p. 96) notes a copy of the Cambridge example at Holkham.

Dresden: Museum, No. 225, 5 ft. 1 in. high, by 7 ft. 3 in. This

was not content with taking profane subject pictures to the Court of Charles, he required to touch another chord, if he wished to satisfy the Emperor. He therefore finished the "Ecce Homo," or Christ bound and suffering from the crown of thorns, and, as he worked it out on slate after the fashion of Sebastian del Piombo, he gave it necessarily some of the polish which marked the "Christ of the Tribute Money."

The "Ecce Homo" now hangs in the Museum of Madrid, but the master who boasted in his youth that he could finish, like Dürer, without losing the breadth of Venetian art, is no longer the patient and minute craftsman of those early days. The type which he created was as fine in its way as any that he had previously conceived. It was realistic, expressive, and speaking in its mournfulness; it was modelled with breadth, yet with blended softness and rounding. The gradations of its lights and half tints were delicate as they could be, the colour rich as ever, light and shade was grandly balanced. But the mould of the face was not as ideal or perfect as it might have been, and in so far the "Christ" of Madrid is less elevated in feeling than that of Dresden.*

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is a variety of the foregoing, softly and cleverly painted by a late Venetian, whose treatment approximates very much to that of Andrea Celesti.

At the Hague and Dresden the copies were called "Philip the Second and his mistress."

* Madrid Museum, No. 467, on slate, m. 0.69 h. by 0.56. This picture is no doubt that which Titian took to Charles the Fifth at Augsburg. It answers to the description of Aretino in letters to Titian and Sansovino, of January and February, 1548. (Lettere, iv. 134 & 144.) The figure is a half-length turned to the right; the arms being bound in front of the body, and the left arm partly

covered with a red cloth. The head is bent, the hair parted in the middle, and tears of blood drop from the punctures of the crown of thorns; on the ground to the left, "TITIANVS." With the exception of some abrasion from cleaning, the surface is fairly preserved.

Aretino describes, in his letter of January, 1548, a copy of this piece given him by Titian, which differs in no respect from that of Madrid. It is, perhaps, that which came into the Averoldi Collection at Brescia, where it was engraved by Sala, and afterwards passed into the gallery of the Duke d'Aumale. This piece, m. 0.72 h. by 0.58, was exhibited at Leeds in 1868 (No. 254), and in Paris in 1874 (No. 503 of Exhibition for the Relief of Alsace Lorraine), but has not been seen by the authors.

Vermeyen made a copy of the original "Ecce Homo" for Charles the Fifth at Brussels in 1555. See the original record, printed in Revue Univ. des Arts, *u. s.*, iii. p. 138.

CHAPTER V.

The Pope and the Emperor.—Titian has to choose between them; gives up the Seals of the Piombo, and goes to Court at Augsburg.—He visits Cardinal Madruzzi at Ceneda.—Augsburg, the Fuggers.—Titian's Reception by Charles the Fifth.—His Pension on Milan doubled.—He promises a Likeness of the Emperor to the Governor of Milan.—Sketch of Charles the Fifth, and how he rode at Mühlberg with Maurice of Saxony and Alva.—His Court at Augsburg.—King Ferdinand.—The Granvelles, John Frederick of Saxony, and other Princes and Princesses portrayed by Titian.—Likenesses: of Charles as he rode at Mühlberg; as he sat at Augsburg; of the captive Elector, with and without Armour; of Chancellor and Cardinal Granvelle, and Cardinal Madruzzi.—The "Prometheus and Sisyphus."—Likeness of King Ferdinand and his Infant Children.—Titian returns to Venice; proceeds to Milan, where he meets Alva and the Prince of Spain.—Portrait of Alva and his Secretary.—Replicas of Charles the Fifth's Portrait for Cardinal Farnese and Francesco Gonzaga.—Betrothal of Lavinia.—Death of Paul the Third.—Plans for the Succession of Philip of Spain.—Charles the Fifth again sends for Titian to paint the Likeness of his presumptive Heir.—Projected Picture of the "Trinity."—Close Relations of Titian with the Emperor, and surprise caused by it.—Melanchthon.—Court of the captive Elector.—Cranach paints Titian's Likeness.—Philip of Spain sits to Titian.—Numerous Portraits are the result.

At the time when Titian entered into engagements with the Farnese princes to take the seal of the papal bulls which had dropped from the hands of Sebastian del Piombo, Paul the Third and Charles the Fifth were on the worst of terms, and there was reason for thinking that the Pope would enter into a league with Venice and France. After the fight of Mühlberg

in which John Frederick of Saxony lost his liberty and possessions, the policy of Charles had acquired a natural ascendency which the subsequent surrender of Wittenberg, the submission and imprisonment of Philip of Hesse, and the reduction of all the cities of South and Central Germany naturally increased. But as the power of the Emperor revived, the aversion of Paul the Third returned. He cursed the ill-luck of the Protestants, wished they had won at Mühlberg as they won before at Rochlitz, and reverted speedily to his old system of trimming. Paul's negotiations, the coquetting of his son Pier Luigi with the French King, and the marriage of Orazio Farnese with Diana the daughter of Henry the Second, are all attributable to the same cause. But when Paul determined to reopen the Council at Bologna, and Charles insisted on its return to Trent, the papal and imperial power were clearly in opposition, and this opposition was not soothed when the Pope was informed that Pier Luigi Farnese had been murdered, and Piacenza occupied by Ferrando Gonzaga. As Cardinal Madruzzi entered Rome in November, and summoned the Pope in the Emperor's name to transfer the Council to Trent, it must have been evident to any one acquainted with politics in these days, that Paul was weak and the Emperor strong. At this very moment Charles the Fifth ordered Titian to Augsburg. Titian, under promise to proceed to Rome, obeyed the Emperor's bidding, and wrote to Cardinal Farnese the following letter of excuse:

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE AT ROME.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

"I should be acting the part of an ungrateful servant, unworthy of the favours which unite my duty to your great kindness, if I were not to say that though his Majesty forces me to go to him and pays the expenses of my journey, I start discontented, because I have not fulfilled your wish and my obligation in presenting myself to my Lord and yours, and working in obedience to his intentions; also because I have not been able as yet to send the work which your Rev^d. Lordship saw here and ordered of me. But I promise as a true servant to pay interest on my return with a new picture in addition to the first. Meanwhile I supplicate the good spirit which always prompts you to do good,—and for which I adore you,—not to withdraw your favour in respect of the benefice of Colle, than which I have nothing more at heart, since that person has shown a wish to possess it, who as a boy deprived wives of their husbands, and now that he is a man takes the sons from their fathers; and these sorts of vices ought not to weigh against my devotion. I trust so entirely to your sincere kindness that I shall certainly be consoled at last in the measure of my present despair. So with your licence, *Padron mio unico*, I shall go, whither I am called, and returning with the grace of God, I shall serve you with all the strength of the talents which I got from my cradle,

and meanwhile I kiss the hands of your Rev^d^. and Illustrious Lordship.

"Your Rev^d^. Lordship's perpetual servant,

"TITIANO." *

"*From* VENICE, *24th December*, 1547."

That Titian should have been attracted to Rome by promises of a benefice on the one hand, and a prospect on the other of the seals of the Piombo was natural enough. There was nothing to be expected from the Emperor so long as he remained at war. That Titian again should be flattered by the offer of a stay at the court of Augsburg when all the world seemed willing to bow down and worship Charles the Fifth was pardonable. It is not probable that the Farneses would have treated the painter as royally as he was treated by the Emperor. What they held out as an incentive was something distant and uncertain. Charles sent Titian ready money and an outfit, well knowing from experience the superior attraction of gold, and Titian was not inclined, perhaps not in a condition, to resist the temptation. His letter to Farnese is clever, but might have roused the anger of the Cardinal if it had come alone. He therefore enclosed it to the Duke of Urbino and asked him to send it on with a friendly line of his own. Possibly he joined to the missive some of his pictures,

* The original, in Ronchini's Relazione, *u. s.*, pp. 9–10, may be compared with a letter from Aretino to Guidubaldo, Duke of Urbino, dated Dec. 1547, in Lettere di M. P. Aret°, iv. 131-2; and Aretino to Titian, of a similar date, Ibid. 133.

perhaps the Venus and Cupid of the Uffizi. It is a proof of the prince's regard for the painter that he did not hesitate to accede to his wishes, but forwarded the letter with the following covering despatch:

GUIDUBALDO, DUKE OF URBINO, TO CARDINAL FARNESE.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND SIGNOR, AND MOST RESPECTED BROTHER-IN-LAW.

"I greatly love Messer Tiziano, because of his rare qualities, as well as because he has particular claims on my friendship. He communicates in the enclosed his wishes and desires to your Illustrious Lordship; and I beg you to be convinced that the matter in question is quite as much desired by me as it is by him, and not more grateful if in the interest of Titian than it would be if for my own convenience. I therefore beg you to deign to do us both this favour, for which I shall be obliged as much as he, and I kiss your hands.

"Servant, and Brother-in-law,

"THE DUKE OF URBINO."*

"*From* PESARO, *January* 8, 1548."

The patronage of the Duke was perhaps of less service to Titian in his relations with Cardinal Farnese than the evident inclination of the Emperor. The nimbus which surrounded the painter had gained new

* Ronchini's Relazione, p. 10.

radiance. It dazzled the prelate, who hastened to perform one at least of his numerous promises. The benefice of Colle we may believe was given to Titian, whilst the seals of the Piombo were handed to Guglielmo della Porta; and Titian, in February, received the compliments of Aretino on the successful attainment of his wishes.*

It was on Christmas Day in 1547 that Aretino received the "Ecce Homo," which was a replica of that taken by his friend to Augsburg. On the sixth of the following January Titian was at Ceneda where Count Girolamo della Torre gave him a letter of introduction to Cardinal Madruzzi. We left that prelate a short time before bearing the Emperor's summons to the Pope to translate the Council from Bologna to Trent.

"I hear," says Della Torre "that your Lordship has left Rome and returned to the court of his Majesty. I therefore take this opportunity of presenting to your Lordship Titian the painter, the first man in Christendom, whom I ask you to treat as you would treat myself, and who is coming at the Emperor's bidding to do work for his Majesty."†

We are not informed as to the particulars of Titian's journey, but let us picture to ourselves an old man of seventy setting out on a long and tiring ride in the heart of winter, crossing the Alps in January to take up his residence in one of the coldest cities of Southern

* See Aretino to Guidubaldo, in Lettere di M. P. A°, iv. 146; and Vasari, xii. 233; and xiii. 120.

† The original in Appendix.

Germany. Ceneda, Trent, Innspruck, the finest of Alpine towns, charm us in summer or in spring. But who amongst us would now undertake Titian's journey and visit them in winter?

Augsburg, in the sixteenth century, was an Imperial city, surrounded with wall and bastion, but larger and more airy than Nuremberg, to which it was inferior in the character of its architecture. At Nuremberg every church was a carved shrine, every house a jewel, every fountain a miracle of fretwork. At Augsburg churches and monasteries were imposing for their size and extent, and the age of some of their parts, they were not monuments worthy of any special admiration. What might strike Titian would be the breadth and length and the quaint aspect of the principal street, the numerous houses covered with frescos, and a certain medley of tints which might remind him of the painted façades of Verona or Treviso. There was nothing really imposing at Augsburg except the brilliant Imperial Court with its suite of dukes and electors, the diet presided over by Granvelle and the patriciate which hid its head at the reformation, and now stood defiant round Charles's throne. The courtiers were well known to Titian, the merchant princes equally so, many of them having acquired their wealth at the Fondaco. It was difficult to name a single member of the house of Fugger that had not resided in Titian's vicinity: Jacob Fugger, who built the almshouses still known as the Fuggerei; Anton Fugger, who negotiated the capitulation of Augsburg in 1547, owned a palace at Venice, and Anton's sons, John,

James, and George, were traders whose money bags had often been opened for the benefit of Aretino.*

Titian's stay with Charles the Fifth was contemporary with the suppression of the liberties of Augsburg. It was then that Charles took the religious movement in hand, imposed the compromise called the interim, suppressed the guilds and restored the patricians to power. Titian wrote of all this to Aretino, told him at once of the gracious reception which the Emperor had given him; and of Charles' intention to give a dowry to "Austria," the "Scourge's" daughter; and in April communicated the grateful intelligence that his Majesty had sat to him, and would be represented in the armour, and on the horse which had been at Mühlberg.† To Lotto he also sent his compliments in April, wishing he were with him, so good a painter and judge being invaluable as a critic. In May he had exhausted part of his supply of colours, and begged Aretino, *cum instantia*, to transmit half a pound of lake by the first Imperial messenger.‡

On the 10th of June, Charles the Fifth signed a patent doubling Titian's pension on the treasury of Milan; Natale Musi, the faithful agent of Ferrando Gonzaga, then governor of Milan, hastened to inform his master "that the Emperor really meant Titian's pension to be paid regularly at Venice, and Titian

* Lettere di M. P. Aretino, iii. 239, 258; iv. 52 & 169.

† Aretino to Titian, Feb. 1548; Aretino to the Prince of Salerno, of the same date; and Aretino to Titian, April, 1548, in Lettere di M. P. A., iv. 153, 155 & 202.

‡ Aretino to Lorenzo Lotto, April, 1548. The same to Lorenzetto Corriere, May, 1548, in Lettere, iv. 215 & 252.

prayed he would do so, and accept a portrait of the Emperor.* From Speyer, in August, Giovanni Battista Cattani wrote to promise that he would duly solicit the Bishop of Arras (Anthony Granvelle) in favour of Titian. He added that nothing had caused him more pain, except the parting with "Signora Marina," than the parting with the painter at Augsburg. The portrait of "Pirrovano," he continued, had suffered some injury in the face, he begged that *his* might be well packed before being sent, and suggested as a change the previous lengthening of the beard.† The scantiness of the news contained in these few sentences is compensated by a brilliant picture of artistic industry, and a noble series of historical portraits.

When the Emperor, forgetting his gout and asthma, and neglecting his doctor's advice, rode to the Saxon frontier in March, 1547, to encounter his enemies, he was described by the Protestants as little better than a mummy or a ghost, yet there was "a will and a way" in the worn frame of the Kaiser; and a spring

* The patent is in Gaye, Carteggio, ii. 369; the letter of Musi, dated Augsburg, June 12, 1548, in Ronchini, Relazioni, *u. s.*, pp. 11—12.

† G. B. Cattani, from Speyer, August 30, 1548, to Titian at Augsburg, in Gaye, Carteggio, ii. 372. Sandrart says (Academia Artis pictoriæ), "Augustæ Vindelicorum . . . pro familia Peronnæorum, qui mercatores erant opus elaborabat magnum in quo scenographice quinque architecturæ ordines exhibuerat." Is there any connection between the family noted by Sandrart, and Cattani's Pirrovano? But again let us compare the above passage from Sandrart with the following from Vasari (xiii. 50): "In Augusta fece (Paris Bordone) per i Prineri un quadrone grande dove in prospettiva mise tutti i cinque ordini d'architettura." Bordone's picture is now in the Gallery of Vienna. Did Titian also paint this subject?

of freshness rose to the surface when the monarch was roused to revenge or assured of victory. Charles came into the field on the day of Mühlberg, in burnished armour inlaid with gold, his arms and legs in chain mail, his hands gauntletted, a morion with a red plume—but without a visor—on his head. The red scarf with gold stripes—cognizance of the House of Burgundy—hung across his shoulders, and he brandished with his right hand a sharp and pointed spear. The chestnut steed, half hid in striped housings, had a head-piece of steel topped by a red feather similar to that of its master. In full panoply Charles dashed across a dangerous ford of the Elbe, his pale and colourless face still marked by hooked nose, large mouth and projecting chin, and, if possible, thinner, more hollow, and not less blenched than of old. One great change marked his appearance. The red hair of earlier days had turned to a chestnut brown commingled with copious grey.*

At the Emperor's side rode Ferdinand, his brother, a short figure with short brown red hair, and bushy eyebrows, high cheek bones, and sunken cheeks, his eagle nose more prominent than ever since the thick and protruding lips had been covered by a new growth of beard.† Both saw the Elector as he came a prisoner

* A description of Charles's appearance is in the Relation of Mocenigo, the Venetian envoy, in F. B. von Bucholtz's Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands des Ersten, 8vo, Wien, 1835, vol. vi. pp. 498—501.

† Relazione of B. Navagero, Venetian envoy at the Court of King Ferdinand (1547), in Bucholtz [F. B. von], Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands des Ersten, *u. s.*, vol. vi. p. 493.

escorted by Ippolito da Porto, bending his head for shame, the blood flowing from a gash in his cheek. He had been riding in plain sable armour, which made his fat and unwieldy frame look fatter and more unwieldy than ever. As he approached the "ghost of a kaiser" and the wiry king,—the latter assailed him with a torrent of abuse, the former called out: "Do you now acknowledge me as Roman Emperor," on which John Frederick with dignity replied: "I am to-day but an unfortunate prisoner, and beg your Imperial Majesty will treat me as a born prince," which his Majesty would not promise to do. Maurice of Saxony, at that time twenty-eight years of age, rode twenty hours, and came home to find the father of his house a captive, and his own claims to the electorate secure. The Duke of Alva, who led the army, was the first to receive the submission of John Frederick after he had yielded—rescue or no rescue—to his own vassal, Thilo von Trotha. It was he who led the van after the surrender of Wittenberg, to him that Charles entrusted John Frederick and Philip of Hesse after the conference of Halle. It was a weary journey for the two electors, Philip of Hesse more particularly feeling the irksomeness of imprisonment. On the 23rd of July, 1547, whilst Philip was detached to Donauwerth, John Frederick was taken to Augsburg, where he spent a year in comparative quiet. He was lodged in a roomy house opposite the palace of the Fuggers, where the Emperor resided, and a bridge was thrown across the street, to allow the Kaiser's seeing his prisoner. He had his own servants

and liberty to ride out for exercise. The Spanish guard was nominally forbidden to enter his drawing-room and bedroom, but it is said the soldiers often showed him for money. From a window of his house he was forced, in February, 1548, to witness the solemn entry of his kinsman Maurice, when he received investment of the Saxon electorate. Meanwhile, Charles the Fifth had assembled the Diet. There was high company in the palaces of Augsburg, and the king and princes of the Empire brought their ladies to grace the ceremonies with their presence. Charles, notoriously saturnine and moody at this period, saw nobody, sat alone at dinner, and ate enormously as he received the dishes from pages whose worn dress and patches did not escape the observant eye of the Venetian Mocenigo. In the early morning his valet Adrian, who could neither read nor write, would go quietly to the residence of the Granvelles, and return with a slip of paper containing the instructions set down for his political conduct by the Chancellor.* No minister had ever inspired his master with so much confidence—not even Cardinal Gattinara, nor the bold but clever Covos. But if guests were not frequent at the Emperor's table, his brother Ferdinand, who willingly undertook the duties of hospitality, often attended with pleasure the numerous balls and dinners that were given at this festive time. The Welsers, Baumgartners, and Fuggers, who owned

* Mocenigo, Relazione in Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands des Ersten, vol. vi. p. 517.

seven millions of gold gulden between them, were but too glad to lend their money to King and Emperor, and the former kept regal court for himself apart from his sons Maximilian and Ferdinand, whilst a fourth establishment, with all the paraphernalia of state, was maintained at Innspruck for the benefit of the King's daughters. Besides these royalties, there were present at Augsburg, during the sittings of the diet, Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary, for whose person and advice both Charles and Ferdinand had always the greatest respect; Christine, widow of two husbands; Francesco Sforza and Francis of Lorraine; Anna, daughter of King Ferdinand, with her husband Albert the Third, Duke of Bavaria, and four of her sisters; Dorothy, sister to Christine, and wife of the Count Palatine Frederick the Second; Nicole Bonvalot, the wife of Chancellor Granvelle; Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy, betrothed to one of the King's daughters, whom he never married; Maurice of Saxony, the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Salerno, the Granvelles, Gaztelù Figueroa, Vargas, Alexander Vitelli, Giovanni Castaldo, and numerous Spanish and Italian captains.

According to the testimony of Mocenigo, the Venetian envoy at the diet of 1547–8, Nicholas Granvelle had once been lowly and poor, but was now rich and likely to be richer.* About sixty years old and sickly, but still courtly and supple, he was reputed to understand affairs of state better than any man living.* Charles the Fifth called him

* Relazione of M. Mocenigo, in Bucholtz, vol. vi. p. 516.

his "bed of rest,"* because he was fertile in expedients and seldom at a loss for ways of doing things. Though it was openly said that he received presents, it was stated with equal openness that Charles the Fifth was aware of the fact and connived at it. Anthony Granvelle, the son of Nicholas did not require—though he possibly did not disdain—this source of income, being in receipt of 14000 ducats from benefices and sharing with his father the confidence of the Emperor.

One of the most graphic passages in the voluminous work of Hortleder is that in which the two Granvelles are described as proceeding on a hot day in July, 1548, to the lodging of John Frederick of Saxony and trying by cajolery and threats to make him accept the interim.† The Chancellor, a tall man in a black robe, wearing the order of the Golden Fleece is conspicuous by his white beard falling forked from a heavy underjaw. The upper lip is fringed with a mere stripe of moustache, and commanded by a heavy fleshy nose, the high and vaulted forehead lost in sparse and downy hair of doubtful colour; but the eyebrows are bushy as they overhang an eye sharp in glance but lying shallow under a broad pair of lids. Intellect and shrewdness were the qualities which spoke out of this statesman's face. The bishop his son was almost the counterpart of his father, but his forehead

* Charles the Fifth to Philip, in Weiss (C.), Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, 4to, Paris, 1843, i. pp. ii.—vi.

† Hortleder, Römisch. Keyser Handlungen, &c., fol., Gota, 1645; ii. 940, and following.

was less high, his nose and eyes were smaller, the beard and hair shorter, more copious, and curly. Both men were burly, but neither showed the plethoric stoutness peculiar to the elector.

John Frederick was so fat that the confinement which he endured in the heat of summer was most irksome to him. His habit was so portly that riding necessarily distressed both man and horse. Looking at the black armour which he wore at Mühlberg as it stands in the Ambras Museum at Vienna, we can easily imagine that none but a weighty Frisian stallion could carry it and its wearer. John Frederick had a favourite charger of this muscular race; and Charles the Fifth recognised the Elector on the battle-field by his horse, because he bestrode the same animal at the Diet of Speyer in 1544. Both Cranach and Titian have immortalized the features and figure of John Frederick as they immortalized those of the Emperor and his family. He had fat sides, fat cheeks, fat hands, a bull neck, out of which the head rose like a truncated cone. The eye was large, blood-shot and apoplectic, the eyebrow spare, the forehead sharply marked at the centre by a black "cow's-lick." The skull was displayed by dark close shorn hair, whilst the beard clung short and frizzy to the hanging jaws.

This obese yet choleric apparition was very cool under the threats and arguments of the Granvelles. John Frederick was prepared for the worst, which in his case would be closer seclusion and restraint. He refused to surrender the Confession of Augsburg; and wandered with Charles the Fifth in August 1548 to

Ghent and Brussels, from whence in course of time he wandered back again to Germany.

It is characteristic of the activity of Titian that he portrayed, during his stay at Augsburg, not only the Emperor and his captives, but most of the royal and princely persons who attended on Charles the Fifth.

Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary, who lived alternately at Brussels or in the country residence of her brother in the Netherlands, was one of the most exalted of the painter's sitters. She was represented in "every-day dress" on canvas. Her two relatives, Christine and Dorothy, followed; then came Mary Jacqueline of Baden, widow of William the First of Bavaria; Anna, Consort of Albert the third Duke of Bavaria, and her four sisters, each of whom, as daughter of King Ferdinand, was allowed to sit separately. King Ferdinand himself was depicted "in armour, but without a morion;" after him, his sons Maximilian and Ferdinand, then Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy, Maurice of Saxony in armour, and the Duke of Alva with cuirass and scarf.*

All these portraits were taken by order of the Emperor, or by command of Mary of Hungary, to the Netherlands, where they were kept either at Brussels or at Binche till the court retired to Spain in 1556. As late as 1582 Argote de Molina saw several of them in the Palace of Pardo, and it is presumed that they perished in the fire of 1608.†

* See the inventories of Mary of Hungary's pictures, in Revue Universelle des Arts, *u. s.*, vol. iii. pp. 127, and ffol.; and Vas. xiii. p. 38.

† Revue Univ. iii. p. 145.

Charles the Fifth, as he rode at Mühlberg, John Frederick as he sat at Augsburg after recovering from his wound, Chancellor Granvelle and Cardinal Madruzzi, are the sole extant likenesses which still recall this period of Titian's practice. The picture of Charles was safely taken to Spain, and subsequently rescued from the fire of the Palace of Pardo, yet it did not remain unscathed, but hangs—a wreck—in the gallery of Madrid. Coinciding in every respect with the descriptions of contemporary historians, it represents the Emperor, cantering—large as life—on a brown charger, towards the Elbe, which runs to the right, reflecting the dull light of a grey sky, remnant of the fog which at early morn overhung the field of Mühlberg. Tall forest trees form a dark background to the left. The brightest light catches the face, the white collar and gorget, and the polished surface of the armour. The black eye and bent nose, the pale skin, dark moustache, and short grey beard, are well given; and the features, though blanched and sallow, show the momentary gleam of fire which then animated the worn frame of the Kaiser. That Charles was not distinguished by grandeur or majesty of shape is very evident; nor has Titian tried to falsify nature by importing flattery into the portrait; but the seat of the Emperor is natural and good, his movement is correct. The horse is also true; and we pass over defects of hip and leg to dwell with the more pleasure on the character and expression of the countenance.*

* This canvas, No. 457 in the Madrid Museum, is m. 3.32 h. by 2.79. It is registered in the inventory of Mary of Hungary

CHARLES THE FIFTH ON THE FIELD OF MÜHLBERG.

MADRID MUSEUM.

[*Vol. II.*, *p.* 178.

Charles the Fifth is reported to have differed in many respects from his brother Ferdinand, but in none more so than in his demeanour before company. When Ferdinand was in humour he would make puns with the court fool and chatter ceaselessly with his guests. Charles hardly listened to the jokes of his jester, and even when they were good, received them with the cold gravity of a Castilian. Although this manner was assumed at first in obedience to the advice of Covos, who said that Spaniards required to be treated with stiffness and severity, it became natural to Charles, whose sour aspect was at last proverbial. At dinner he ate copiously, without uttering a word, and after the cloth was removed, he generally withdrew to a corner near a window, and sat quite still listening to suitors.*

In this mood and occupation we may suppose Titian once caught him, and the result was the portrait in the Pinakothek at Munich, where Charles

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(Revue Universelle des Arts, *u. s.*, iii. 139), and in numerous Spanish catalogues. The fire of 1608 injured the lower part of the piece, which is not only altered in contour, but retouched with colours. The whole surface is more or less opaque and dim in tone. Photograph by Laurent. A copy of this equestrian portrait was registered as a genuine Titian in the Farnese Collection in 1680, braccie 4 on. 5 h. by 4 br. 6 on.; another, "palmi 3½ h. by palm. 3 e un dito," in the collection of Queen Christine. (Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, pp. 359 & 243; also Scanelli's Microcosmo, p. 222.) A clever repetition, on a small scale, is that of the Rogers and Baring Collections, where the hand of Titian is alleged, but the execution is more like that of a good copyist, such as we have in the Spaniard, Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo, the pupil and son-in-law of Velasquez de Silva.

* Compare Sastrow and Mocenigo in Bucholtz, *u. s.*, vol. vi. pp. 300 & 501.

is to be seen in black, seated in an arm chair, at the angle of a stone court. A gold damask hanging falls from a wall near the base of a pillar, and a screen of stone separates the terrace where the Kaiser sits from a distant landscape. The Emperor's gout required careful dressing. To sit in the open air he wanted, and on this occasion he wore a black cap, undressed leather gloves, and a fur pelisse. The attitude, the elbows on the arms of the chair, the right hand holding the glove, are set in Titian's fashion, but little more than the head and shirt-collar are his. The rest of the canvas is covered with layers of paint of a character so modern as even to exclude the numerous disciples of the master.*

Amongst the youths who accompanied Titian to Augsburg, in 1548, one of his kinsmen is now to be

* This picture is now in the Munich Pinakothek, on canvas, 6 ft. 4 in. h. by 3 ft. 9 in., and numbered 496. It was abraded and rubbed down to such an extent that much of the detail, especially in the background, was removed. The surface was then covered over, apparently by a Fleming, who gave quite a Dutch character to the landscape distance. The Emperor is seated to the left, and turned to the right. The clever modelling of the face and right hand is the more apparent since the final glazings have disappeared. The black hose and shoes, the rapier, are partly slobbered over with the more modern paint of the wall and red carpet. The glove in the left hand is new, and the signature, "MDXLVIII, Titianus F.," is repainted.

For more than a century a small replica of this piece, on panel, in the gallery of Vienna (No. 51, room 2, 1st floor, Italian schools, 7 in. h. by 5½) passed for a sketch for the canvas at Munich; but apart from the fact that the dress is differently tinted, the hose at Vienna being of a brownish yellow instead of black, the handling of the panel displays none of the breadth of Titian in 1548; and unless we presuppose a total alteration produced by abrasion and restoring, the picture is rather a copy by Teniers than an original by Titian.

distinguished; and it is remarkable that the first authentic record of his share in Titian's labours should refer to the portraits of the captive Elector of Saxony, of which one is still in existence: Cesare Vecelli may have had a part in the detail of Charles' portrait.

He was the son of Ettore, own cousin to Gregorio Vecelli, and assistant to Titian when he produced the portrait of John Frederick of Saxony. Being struck with the Elector's armour, which had been deposited for a time in his master's workshop, he made a drawing of it, with which he subsequently illustrated a book on costume. In writing the text to this illustration, he not only observed that he had seen Titian's picture of the Elector, with the scar on his face, resting his hand on a baton, but that the panoply was that which John Frederick wore at Mühlberg, and that he was present as Titian's pupil when the portrait was designed at the request of Charles the Fifth.* This portrait was one of those which Mary of Hungary took to Spain, in 1556; and it was one of the series which perished in the fire of the Palace of Pardo;† a second without a breastplate, done at the same time, and likewise taken to Spain, survived, and is now preserved in the Gallery of Vienna.

At different periods of his life the Elector wore his beard in different ways. In the earlier portraits of Cranach and his school, it is cut short and brushed

* Cesare Vecelli, Degli Abiti Antichi e Moderni, 8vo, Ven. 1590, p. 61.

† See the inventory in Revue Universelle des Arts, *u. s.*, iii. 140. The entry is as follows: "El retrato del Duque de Saxonia, cuando fué preso, armado, y en el rostro una cuchillada."

off the chin into the whiskers, giving a quaint broad shape to a face already very remarkable for breadth. Almost all the princes who signed the Confession of Augsburg wore this appendage, which is as characteristic as cropped hair to the Puritans of England. After the defeat of the Schmalkaldic league, the Spanish beard, which is so remarkable for its length and pointed shape, became fashionable, and John Frederick, in his captivity, found it advisable to conform, thinking, no doubt, that conformity was more pardonable in matters of dress than in matters of religion; and thus Titian drew him with a pointed and not with a swallow-tailed beard. Like most productions of this period, the Vienna portrait is a picture of touch, in which the head and hands are magnificently laid in from life, whilst the dress, though executed with care, is probably done from memory. Had the surfaces been spared by time and restorers, we should have a masterpiece before us. As it is, we still see that the Elector sat, and sat well, and Titian gave the apoplectic look, the bloodshot eye, the staring glance, which are characteristic of most men of dark complexion and plethoric habit. But where his mastery is most apparent is in the modelling of the flesh, which displays the scantling of bone beneath the layers of fat with a searching minuteness, surprising when combined with so much breadth of treatment. The features of John Frederick have been described. They were well reproduced by the painter, who probably had the sittings in the first months of winter, 1548. The captive Elector is seated with his elbows and hands

at rest, on the arms of a chair; his coat is of black-striped silk, his black pelisse is faced with brown fur. In his left he holds a dark hat. White linen is cleverly interposed to break the monotony of black at the neck and wrists, and the scar of the wound received at Mühlberg appears on the left cheek. Cranach portrayed the Prince before and after Mühlberg; but he never ennobled the form of his sitter. Titian takes the fat and obese figure, sets it in an arm-chair, and, in spite of these disadvantages, imparts to the shape and features a dignified and princely air.*

Nicholas Granvelle was painted by Titian in state dress, with the chain of the Golden Fleece round his neck, a white beard falling silken and abundant to his chest. Judging from a photograph of the picture now in the museum of Besançon, the likeness is speaking and expressive, and if genuine, one of the few specimens of Titian's art which remain in Franche

* Vienna gallery, first floor, room 2, Italian schools, No. 46. This picture is 3 ft. 7½ in. h. by 3 ft. 1 in., and painted on very fine canvas, to which a strip has been added at the top. The flesh generally is flayed and discoloured, and has lost its glazings and other delicacies of finish. It was re-touched in the forehead, in four fingers of the right hand, the fur, and the hat. The background is a warm grey-toned wall. This is one of the canvases which only came to Vienna in the eighteenth century; but its history after reaching Spain is unknown. Rubens copied it together with that of the Landgrave Philip, during his stay at Madrid (Sainsbury Papers, *u. s.*, p. 237. Compare also Vasari, xiii. p. 38). That the portraits were painted in 1548, rather than in 1550, seems confirmed by the entry in the inventory of Mary of Hungary's pictures (*u. s.*), "Otro ritratto del dicho Duque de Sajonia *cuando estaba preso*, hecho por Ticiano." There is a copy by Teniers of the Vienna portrait now preserved at Blenheim. It is engraved in the Teniers Gall. by L. Vorstermann. A fine photograph by Miethke and Wawra.

Comté.* In earlier days this province was greatly honoured by the presence of the Chancellor and the Cardinal. Both were pleased to favour the city in which their ancestors had risen from obscurity. In 1534 Nicholas commenced a palace at Besançon, which he finished in 1540, and in the course of years this mansion was filled by his care and the taste of the Cardinal with treasures of painting and sculpture. Here were several masterpieces by the greatest artists of the revival; a "Joconde" of Leonardo da Vinci, two "Madonnas" and a "St. Catherine" by Correggio, besides a "Jupiter and Antiope" and the "Venus and Mercury" of the National Gallery. Here were a "Venus" by Paris Bordone, the "Martyrs" of Albert Dürer, a present from the captive John Frederick of Saxony now at Vienna,† and numerous canvases by Titian, to which we shall presently revert.‡

At the death of Nicholas Granvelle the palace and collection went by tail male to the Cardinal, and would have passed to his brother Thomas, but that he died in 1575. In 1586 the Cardinal made a will disinheriting his nephew François the son of Thomas

* The canvas in the Museum of Besançon represents the Chancellor seen to the hips, large as life, and his head turned three-quarters to the left. It is said to be the picture noted in the Granvelle inventory of 1607 (printed in full in A. Castan's Monographie du Palais Granvelle à Besançon, 8vo, Besançon, 1867, p. 56), which registers two likenesses of Nicholas Granvelle, one 4 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., the other 3 ft. 6½ in. by 2 ft. 4 in., both by Titian.

† Scheurl, in C. Schuchardt's Lucas Cranach, 8vo, Leipzig, 1851, p. 193.

‡ Ibid., and D. Levesque's Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Granvelle, fol., Paris, 1754.

Count of Cantecroix, because of his attempt to palm off a copy of Dürer's "Martyrs" on the Emperor Rudolf the Second. Instead of cutting off his nephew with a shilling, Anthony left him his portrait by Titian, and Cantecroix, to show his contempt, placed the picture in a dishonourable part of his house, "afin, disait-il, de lui faire tous les jours la grimace."* The consequence was the loss of a valuable heirloom, without an equivalent in money. In 1600 Cantecroix parted with several of the Granvelle pictures to Rudolf the Second, and amongst them with the "Venus on a Couch, and an Organist," and "The Sleeping Venus with a Satyr" by Titian,† leaving the portrait of Nicole Bonvalot, wife of the Chancellor, that of the Chancellor himself in two examples, "Cupid holding a Mirror to Venus," "A Golden Rain," "A Lady putting on her Smock," "A Lady seated," "A Colossal Head," and "A Child," all by Titian, to be sold or disposed of by his heirs.‡ It is hardly necessary to point out that the "Venus with the Organist" may be identified as the "Venus of Madrid." The "Venus and Satyr" may have been the first form of the "Jupiter and Antiope," so long called the "Venus of Pardo" at the Louvre; and we might thus conclude that if Titian took these works to Augsburg in 1547, they were sold to the all-powerful Chancellor, for whom the master likewise painted two

* L'Evesque, *u. s.*, i. p. 190.

† Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen und Sammlungen Kaiser Rudolfs II., von Ludwig Uhrlichs, in Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, *u. s.*, vol. v., pp. 136, and following.

‡ Castan *u. s.*

portraits of himself, a portrait of his wife, and one of Anthony as Bishop of Arras.

Christopher Madruzzi, to whom Titian, as we saw, was introduced by Count della Torre, was but thirty-five years old when Charles the Fifth sent him to challenge the Pope to translate the council of Bologna. There was a certain fitness in the despatch to Rome on such an errand of a man who was not only an ecclesiastical dignitary of the first rank but prince-bishop of Trent. Titian's likeness of this churchman is still preserved at Trent in the house of the Salvadori, the last descendants by collateral lines of a most potent family. The prelate stood to the master in the black robes and hat of a prince-bishop, disdaining as it were the cardinal's dress. He walks like a minister busy with the cares of state over a red carpet, a ministerial paper in his left hand, his right raising the red curtain which partly conceals a study-table covered with a green cloth, and laden with a clock and letters. Though injured, this fine full-length is painted quickly and with a masterly hand. As if the sitter had but little time to spare, the lines of his form are swept on to the canvas with rapid strokes, and modelled with broad touches without much thought of delicate transitions or glazed tonings.*

* Christoforo Madruzzi was born in 1512. His direct line expired in 1658, when the agnates Barons of Roccabruna inherited the family dignities and heir-looms. From these the property came in 1837 to the Barons Isidore and Valentino Salvadori of Trent, who now own the portrait. The figure of Cardinal Madruzzi is a full length of life size, on canvas. Injured by time and restoring, especially in the flesh parts, it is still fine, though deprived of the

PROMETHEUS.

FROM A PRINT BY CORT.

[*To face p.* 187, *Vol. II.*

In the intervals that were not taken up with this form of pictorial labour Titian varied his leisure, even at Augsburg, with the composition of subjects, and he produced for Queen Mary of Hungary "Prometheus," "Sisyphus," "Ixion," and "Tantalus," which Calvete d'Estrella saw in 1549 at Binche, before they were sent to Spain to perish by fire at the Palace of Pardo. Two copies, by Sanchez Coello, the "Prometheus" and "Sisyphus," in the Madrid Museum, alone survive to tell of Titian's industry.*

Though Titian's portrait of King Ferdinand perished in Spain, there is reason to think that the original sketch may have been preserved.† Amongst the Barbarigo

brio of Titian's touch and tone, and opaque in most of its surfaces. This portrait was known to Vasari (xiii. p. 33).

* "Prometheus," No. 466, "Sisyphus," No. 465, in the Madrid Museum, are still ascribed, though not without hesitation, to Titian. When Mary of Hungary came over to Spain from the Netherlands in 1556, she is recorded to have taken with her two at least of these canvases, the existence of which was known to Vasari (xiii. 38–39), and Lomazzo (Trattato, *u. s.*, 676). The "Tantalus" and "Ixion" (Inventory of 1558 — Simancas — printed in Revue Universelle des Arts, *u.s.*, iii. pp. 140—141), are described as "viejos e gastados que estaban en la Casa de Vinz." These, and the "Sisyphus" and "Prometheus" of the Madrid Museum were hung, according to Carducci, in the Alcazar of Madrid, the latter being already known as copies by S. Coello. (See Madrazo's Catalogue of the Madrid Museum.) Since then the "Tantalus" and "Ixion" perished. The two remaining canvases are fine copies, and nothing more. Prometheus hangs downwards, his feet being chained to the trunk of a tree, his arms being thrown abroad wildly as the bird pecks at the breast; a snake crawls on the right hand foreground. Sisyphus bends under the weight of a rock on his shoulders. Both canvases, but "Sisyphus" more than "Prometheus," are greatly injured. The "Prometheus" was engraved by Cort in 1566, by M. Rota in 1570. "Sisyphus rolling a large stone" was one of the Titians in the Buckingham Collection, 4 f. 6 h. by 3, in the seventeenth century. (Bathoe, *u. s.*, p. 2).

† Amongst the "copies from

heirlooms, of which we remember some transferred to the collection of Count Giustiniani Barbarigo, at Padua, we note one under the name of Morone, representing Ferdinand, with short cropped chestnut hair and pointed beard, seated in an arm-chair. Through an opening to the left, a distance of sky and trees is seen; behind the chair, a brown hanging. The king wears the obligate pelisse of black silk, with a broad fur collar, and round his neck the chain and Order of the Golden Fleece. His hands rest on the arms of the chair, and the thick underlip of the Burgundian Dukes, noted by historians as a prominent feature in the monarch's face, is very clearly displayed. The canvas, unfortunately, was so heavily repainted that Titian's original touches have been lost, but there is something Titianesque in the look of the piece, which is foreign to Morone, and it may be that here again modern daubing covers the handiwork of a great master.

Titian painted not only Ferdinand, his two sons and five daughters, but on his way from Augsburg to Venice, in October, 1548, he called at the royal palace of Innspruck, and made a family picture of the King's children. A letter which he wrote after he sketched in this canvas has been preserved, and proves that he put Ferdinand under contribution much in the same way as Charles the Fifth. Just as he asked

Titian" in the Museum of Madrid, is a portrait of Ferdinand in armour, with his right hand on a helmet lying on a table, and his left on the hilt of his sword; a half-length of life size. That and an engraving by P. de Jode, is all that remains to tell of Titian's labours in this case.

the Emperor in early days to give him a privilege to import corn from Naples, he now asked Ferdinand to allow him to cut timber in the Tyrolese forests, and it is curious to find that the letter written to press this request was translated into German in the King's Chancery; thus proving that, however much historians may boast, Ferdinand was not so familiar with the Italian language as to read it currently.

TITIAN TO KING FERDINAND.

"MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING, MOST CLEMENT LORD,

"Though your Majesty, of your Royal bounty, did me the grace to remit in my favour one hundred . . . of the duty on the timber which I am authorised for the next three years to carry, yet, most gracious Lord, I find, whilst soliciting here the expediting of this matter, that the councillors of the chamber (kammerräthe) raise difficulties as to the liberty to cut trees in the forest of Rorbolt (?), on the ground that your Majesty's order makes no mention of cutting, and that the wood of this forest is reserved for the use of the mines. This has annoyed me the more, as I did not fancy that the said councillors would resist your Majesty's order, as I am not a man to make merchandize of the timber, but use the wood for myself and my buildings, and I have served and now serve your Majesty with all the diligence and fidelity which can be expected of a faithful servant, of all which these gentlemen can—if they choose—give testimony. Therefore I beg your Majesty to order that I shall not

be impeded in the felling of timber in the said forest, the more as other persons, in the year last past, have felled timber there, as I can fully prove, and there are no mines within twenty German miles or more. Doing me this favour your Majesty will find me not ungrateful, as I shall try to acknowledge by all the means in my power.

"The portraits of the serene daughters of your Majesty will be done in two days, and I shall take them to Venice, whence—having finished them with all diligence—I shall send them quickly to your Majesty. As soon as your Majesty has seen them, I am convinced I shall receive much greater favours than those which have been previously done me, and so I recommend myself humbly to your Majesty.

"Your Majesty's faithful servant,

"TITIANO.*

"*From* INNSPRUCK, 20*th Oct.* 1548."

The king's daughters at Innspruck when Titian wrote this letter were Barbara, nine years old, Helena, aged five, and Johanna, a baby in long clothes, whose birth cost its mother her life in January, 1547. If we judge from the portraits which hang in the collection of Lord Cowper at Panshanger, Titian's share in them was slight indeed. It seems clear from numerous signs that the preparatory work at Innspruck was done by Cesare Vecelli, whose pastose handling is discernible by its emptiness and uniformity; and that

* See the original in Appendix.

the master himself added but a very little to the heads when he took the canvas to Venice. The baby in a cot with the royal arms, lies on a green carpet in front of its two sisters, who sit on a red cushion behind. Barbara to the right in white-silk damask, Helena at her side to the left, holding a bird in her hand. Time and restorers have not quite removed the spirited touches of Titian in the hands and faces, but all the rest is devoid of the firmness and power characteristic of the master's own treatment.*

Titian's friends awaited his return to Venice in October with impatience, proud of his familiar intercourse with the Emperor, rejoicing "that he should come home rich as a prince instead of poor as a painter."† For a few weeks of November and December Aretino's palace was enlivened with the converse and feasting of the full academy, when doubtless Titian quaintly described to his friends the details of his life abroad.‡ But the restless old artist was after all not to be detained by feasting and company any more than by hard weather from attending to his worldly interests. At Augsburg, toward the close of his stay, he had seen the Duke of Alva and Cardinal Madruzzi start to fetch the

* This canvas, with figures as large as life, has been retouched, particularly in the left hand of the baby, and the deep green coverlet of the cot. On the back of the canvas is an extract from the letter, the whole of which is given in the text.

† Aretino to Titian, Venice, May, 1548, in Lettere di M. P. A., iv. p. 232; and the same to Corezaro, Venice, Oct. 1548, in Lett., v. p. 40.

‡ Aretino in Lettere, v. 72, 78, 81.

Emperor's son from Spain. Philip had made his way in state from Valladolid to Barcelona, and from Barcelona to Genoa, and thence to Milan. His progress was called by the courtiers the "*felicissimo viage.*" The purpose was the prince's introduction to the potentates of Italy and Germany, and his presentation to the states of the Netherlands. Titian set out in December to meet him, confident that the payment of his pension, which his son Orazio was vainly urging at the time with the Governor and Senate of Milan, would be made the sooner if his claims were supported by Alva and the Cardinal of Trent. A portrait of Alva, which he then painted, suggested to Aretino one of his most flattering sonnets, whilst a likeness of Giuliano Gosellini, Gonzaga's secretary, proved a mere loss of time in so far as the person whom it was to influence remained proof against such persuasion.* Early in 1549 Titian resumed the ordinary routine of his existence at Venice, where repeated allusions in Aretino's letters reveal the popularity of his presence amongst a host of admirers.† In July he stood godfather, with Aretino, Sansovino, Marcantonio Cornaro, and other patricians, to Francesco del Monte, a near relative to Maria del Monte of Arezzo, who was soon to exchange the Cardinal's hat for the tiara, and give Aretino hopes of ecclesiastical preferment.‡ Of his professional labours we have unhappily but dubious

* Aretino to Alva, Lettere, v. 81, 105. Both portraits are lost. See also Titian to Gosellini, Augsburg, Feb. 10, 1551, in Ronchini, Relazioni, *u. s.*, p. 13.

† Aretino, Lettere, v. 98, 101, 124.

‡ Abbate Lancelotti's Memorie di Raniero del Monte, in Cicogna's Isc. Ven., *u. s.*, iv. p. 644.

account; and it is a mere conjecture to say that he sent to Cardinal Farnese, in fulfilment of an earlier promise, a copy of "Charles the Fifth riding at Mühlberg," which long adorned the palace of Parma.* About the same time he despatched to Ferrante Gonzaga another likeness of Charles, which—he vainly hoped—would procure for him the payment of the pension so long delayed on the Treasury of Milan.

TITIAN TO FERRANTE GONZAGA AT MILAN.

"I send to your Excellency by the bearer of this letter the portrait of the Emperor, fulfilling my promise to demonstrate by such means as I have in my power my gratitude for the courteous and friendly way in which your Excellency proffered through Sr. Francesco Cortese to obtain the payment of my pension on presentment of the authentic documents. I am the more thankful and obliged for this kindness as nothing could be more opportune than the receipt of these monies, because, having a marriageable daughter, I ventured to betroth her on the faith of your Excellency's performance. This too I was desirous of saying to show what good and charitable work your Excellency's promise will have caused. The privileges will be presented with a power from me by Messer Jacomo Fagnana, and I beg that your Excellency will kindly give effect to the good and courteous wishes expressed on my behalf,

* It is registered in the Parmese inventory of 1680, in Campori, Racc. di Cataloghi, p. 243, and recorded with praise by Armenini (p. 115) and Scanelli (p. 222), but has since been lost.

and favour my agent in this respect. It remains for me to kiss most reverently your invincible and honoured hand, and request that you will deign to command me, as I shall deem it a favour to serve your Excellency in Milan or Venice, or anywhere else that your Excellency pleases.

"Your Excellency's most devoted
"and obliged Servant,
"TITIANO VECELLIO, *Pittore.**

"*From* VENICE, *Sept.* 8, 1549."

Autumn and winter passed away, and the "honoured and invincible hand" of the Governor of Milan was never stirred in the painter's behalf. Nor was it without further pressure—we may think—that he was induced, in February 1550, to send Titian's papers down to the Senate of Milan asking that the statute of limitations should not apply to his claims.† Of the portrait, the present of which had been so poorly rewarded, no certain record exists. We know of one likeness, a half length, in the Naples Museum, which might be that sent to Ferrante Gonzaga. It represents Charles the Fifth in a black cap and dress, his face and form turned three quarters to the left, the collar of the Golden Fleece round his neck, a letter in his right hand. The right eye and forehead, a bit of the upper lip and hand, are the parts which seem free from retouching; but the fragments scarcely allow of a more decided opinion than that the canvas

* The original is in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.*, p. 11.

† See Gonzaga to the Senate of Milan, in Appendix.

originally came from the easel of an artist who painted in Titian's manner, whilst the age of the Kaiser is that of the time when he came to visit Pope Clement at Bologna.*

If remarkable for nothing more, the year 1549 deserves to be noted in the chronology of Titian as marking the publication of his celebrated print of the "Submersion of Pharaoh," a large and important piece, in which the master's design was engraved by one of his Spanish pupils, Domenico delle Greche.†

At Biri Grande during the frequent absences of Titian, alternations of pain and pleasure such as we expect to find in every family in which there are children contributed to sunshine or gloom according as they came. Cornelio Sarcinelli, a respectable youth of Serravalle, had courted and won Lavinia, and obtained her father's consent to their marriage. The only drawback was the obduracy of the Milan Treasury, which delayed the settlement of the dowry, whilst Titian's earnings, which might have sufficed to furnish a portion for the daughter, were unhappily drawn upon by the eldest son, who not only spent his father's patrimony and got into debt beside, but

* Naples Mus., No. 45, canvas, half-length, of life-size, without any history at present.

† This print is rare, but especially so with the margin containing the following: "La crudel persecutione del ostinato re contro il popolo tanto da lui amato con la Sommersione di esso Pharaone goloso del inocente sangue. Disegnata per mano dil crande et immortal Titian.

"In Venetia p domeneco delle greche depentore Venetian, MDXLIX."

Cicogna, in his MS. Annotations to Morelli's Anonimo, notes a complete copy in possession (1860) of Abate Cadorin.

laughed at the admonitions of his sire and of Aretino.* In his letters to Titian on this subject, Aretino begged the painter to remember the days of his own youth, and temper severity with indulgence. But writing to Pomponio he upbraided him sternly with spending in pleasure the fruits of his father's labours, journeys and savings.* Nor was this the only misfortune which weighed on the painter. In March he lost his sister Orsa, who for years had been the companion and guardian of his children and the keeper of his household; and the cares of a matron devolved on Lavinia before she entered into the married state.†

Meanwhile, important changes had occurred at Rome. On the 10th of November, 1549, Paul the Third died, and a protracted struggle between the partisans of France and Spain ended in the elevation of Cardinal del Monte to the papacy. For a time Aretino, who flattered himself that Julius the Third would give him a hat, and who knew that del Monte had been Paul's right-hand man at Trent, inclined to the party of France. He wrote letters to Henry the Second and his queen, heaped flatteries on Bonnivet the French agent at Venice, and even induced Titian to begin a portrait of that captain in armour which promised to be one of his finest works.‡ But the current, instead of setting in the direction of France, had really changed in favour of Spain; and as it did so the Emperor sent for Titian to Augsburg, who started to cross the Alps, leaving his friend to excuse

* Lettere, v. 310, 313–14.
† Ibid. v. pp. 243–244.
‡ Aretino to Bonnivet, Ven., Nov. 1550, in Lett. vi. 31ᵛ.

him as best he could with the French envoy. Seeing his opportunity, Aretino naturally dropped off from the French side, and wrote letters to the Emperor urging his claim to preferment in the Church and begging for Charles' support. Titian, who had put together such of his canvases as were finished, took charge of Aretino's missive and rode with his load to Augsburg.

Paul the Third had had the wisdom to dissolve the council of Bologna, but had doggedly refused to sanction its meeting elsewhere. Julius the Third yielded on this important point to the will of the Emperor, and Charles called a diet on the 26th of July at Augsburg to revive the Council of Trent. Other plans were in his mind at the same time. Mary of Hungary shared his belief that the welfare of the royal and imperial house required that the succession of the Empire should fall on Philip of Spain rather than on Maximilian of Austria. Philip accompanied his father to Augsburg as heir presumptive, whilst Maximilian was kept at a distance in Spain. But it was soon found necessary to bring all the members of the family together, and as Titian came to Augsburg in the first days of November, the Emperor and Philip, the king and Maximilian, and all the appendages of both courts, were together in the imperial city.

On the 4th of November, Titian wrote by Æneas Vico the engraver to Aretino to announce his safe arrival at court.* On the 11th he wrote again to describe his reception by the Emperor.

* Aretino to Titian, Venice, Nov. 1550, in Lettere, vi. 32ᵛ.

TITIAN TO ARETINO AT VENICE.

"SIGNOR PIETRO, HONOURED GOSSIP,

"I wrote by Messer Æneas that I kept your letters near my heart till occasion should offer to deliver them to his Majesty. The day after the Parmesan's (Æneas) departure his Majesty sent for me. After the usual courtesies and examination of the pictures which I had brought, he asked for news of you and whether I had letters from you to deliver. To the last question I answered affirmatively, and then presented the letter you gave me. Having read it, the Emperor repeated its contents so as to be heard by his Highness his son, the Duke of Alva, Don Luigi Davila, and the rest of the gentlemen of the chamber, and as there was mention of me he asked what it was that was required of him. I replied that at Venice, in Rome, and in all Italy the public assumed that his Holiness was well minded to make you . . . [Cardinal], upon which Cæsar showed signs of pleasure in his face, saying he would greatly rejoice at such an event, which could not fail to please you, and so, dear brother, I have done for you such service as I owe to a friend of your standing, and if I should be able otherwise to assist you I beg you will command me in every respect. Not a day passes but the Duke of Alva speaks to me of the 'divine Aretino,' because he loves you much, and he says he will favour your interest with his Majesty. I told him that you would spend the world, that what you got you shared with everybody, and that you gave to

the poor even to the clothes on your back, which is true as every one knows. I gave your letter too to the bishop of Arras, and you shall shortly have an answer. Sir Philip Hoby left yesterday for England by land; he salutes you and says he will not be content till he does you a pleasure himself in addition to the good offices which he promises to do for your benefit with his sovereign. Rejoice therefore as you well may by the grace of God, and keep me in good recollection, saluting for me Signor Jacopo Sansovino and kissing the hand of Anichino.

"Your friend and gossip,

"TIZIANO.*

"*From* AUGSBURG, *Nov.* 11, 1550."

Titian found with few exceptions the same company at Augsburg in 1550 as in 1548. The Emperor, the King, and both their families, Mary of Hungary, the Electors, John Frederick of Saxony, Chancellor Granvelle and his son, Alva and the usual accompaniment of courtiers and envoys, were all residing together. But there was little of the confidence and elation in the chiefs of the court party which marked the earlier period. Charles the Fifth was more sickly and more gloomy than ever. Meditating retirement from the world, and hoping to compass the transfer of his dignity to his son, he doubtless felt that there was some cause for the anger of his brother, and the choler of his nephew Maximilian, who chafed at the

* The original is in Lettere a P. Aretino, *u. s.*, i. p. 147.

prospect of losing the dignities to which they thought themselves entitled. It was no doubt in the gloomy humour of those days that he consulted with Titian as to the composition of a picture in which the religious struggle of the time and his own longing for rest should be embodied. Titian at his request proposed to represent the radiant realm of heaven presided by the three Persons of the Trinity, escorted by the patriarchs, prophets, and Evangelists, and the Virgin Mary interceding with her son for the sins of the royal family, which should kneel in the clouds attended by angels. Foremost in the group, Charles himself was to appear as a penitent, accompanied by his Empress, Philip, and Mary of Hungary. There must have been long and frequent conferences between the Emperor and the artist on this and cognate subjects, when Titian heard his patron confess that it was his wish to get the picture finished that he might take it to the distant convent where he proposed to retire to end his days.* The world observed with surprise the confidential intercourse of the monarch with Titian. Far away into the centre of Germany the fame of the master as a welcome guest of Charles was spread, and Melancthon from his distant study at Wittenberg, wrote to Camerarius, "Our Genoese has been here and tells me that the Pope is gathering troops to recover Parma. Titian the painter is at Augsburg, whither the Emperor has called him, and he has constant access to his Majesty,

* Vasari, xii. p. 38; Charles to Vargas, May 31, 1553, in Appendix.

whose health is on the whole but middling." * Doubtless there were agents enough who reported the doings of Charles to the Reformers, and the more because a little court of Protestants had been formed with the Emperor's leave round the person of the captive Elector of Saxony, and here amongst others resided Lucas Cranach, who had gone from Wittenberg to share the privations of his lord and master, and who was quite capable of giving his co-religionists all the news they wanted.

But Cranach was not a political newsmonger. He was one of the first artists to whom Charles the Fifth had ever sat, and one of the few Protestants whom he had treated well after the battle of Mühlberg. When encamped before Wittenberg after the capture of the Elector, he recollected Cranach's name, and ordered him to appear. "John Frederick, your prince," he said, "gave me one of your pictures when I was with him at Speyer. You once painted a likeness of me as a boy which I still keep in my rooms at Malines, and I want you to tell me what I was like in those days." "Your Majesty," answered Cranach, "was eight years old when the Emperor Maximilian took you by the hand and received the homage of the Belgian States. There was a teacher with you, who seeing your restlessness told me that iron or steel would attract your particular attention. I asked him to place a spear against a

* This letter, without date, but probably of January, 1550, is in Voegelin's "Liber continens continua serie epistolas Philippi Melancthonis scriptis annis XXXVIII ad Joach. Camerar. Pabep. (Bamberg) . . . curante . . . Ernesto Voegelino, 8vo, Lipsiæ, MDLXIX, pp. 614—615."

wall so that the point should be turned towards you, and your Majesty's eye remained fixed on that point till I had done the picture." The Emperor was pleased at this story, and promised to be gracious to Cranach, whereat the painter fell on his knees and in earnest words pleaded the cause of his prince, for whom he bespoke the mercy of the Kaiser. "I don't attach much importance," said Charles, "to the captive Elector, if I could but catch the Landgrave of Hesse." He then dismissed Cranach with a present.*

Two years after this interview, the Elector, who followed the Emperor about like a muzzled bear, asked Cranach to meet him in summer at Augsburg, and, punctual to a day, the old artist arrived on the 23rd of July, and took up his residence in the house assigned to his master.† Here Titian found him five months later the favoured servant of John Frederick, who after reading his Bible for an hour in the morning, sent for Cranach to paint for him in the forenoon.‡ In the lists of the marshal of the court, Cranach's place was marked for dinner at the first table, whilst his apprentices served the meals at the lower ones, of which they received the remnants.§ In February the Elector was escorted by order of Charles to Innspruck, whither Cranach followed him,

* See Matthæus Gunderam's contemporary report in Schuchardt's Cranach, *u. s.*, i. 186, and Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte, *u. s.*, vol. iv. p. 523.

† See Cranach's order of appointment, dated Weimar, Oct. 8, 1551, in Schuchardt, *u. s.*, i. p. 195; and the Elector's letter to Brück, in ib. iii. 81.

‡ Forster of Arnstadt, in Schuchardt, i. p. 199.

§ Ibid. i. p. 204.

having earned the name of *pictor celer* by finishing thirty pictures in seven months.*

Titian in early life had had the chance of studying the works and admiring the person of Albert Dürer, at the period when German art stood at the point of full development. At the blooming time of Venetian painting he marked the withering of the German plant in the person of Cranach. Yet he would naturally be too courteous to show any want of respect to one who with all his faults was imbued with a genuine love of his craft. He visited Cranach and gave him sittings, and amongst the portraits which the captive Elector took home was the "*Cunterfet* of Thucia, the painter of Venice," by Lucas, the painter of Wittenberg.† It would have been hard to find two men more in contrast than these. Titian, a master of touch and colour and effect, reproduced on canvas the substance as much as the semblance of his sitter, idealizing the features, catching with quick insight the character, the type, and expression, and ennobling them all in a grand and dignified way. Cranach, quick and clever after another fashion, but without poetry or grace in his conception of form, and without the searching power which made Dürer great, reduced his models to an uniform level of commonplace. Both artists in their respective countries were representative men. But if we compare a likeness by Cranach with one by Titian we measure a wide and impassable

* Schuchardt gives Cranach's own account for these pieces (i. pp. 206–8).

† Cranach's account, *u. s.*

gulf which parts the art of Italy from that of the countries beyond the Alps.

But the principal object for which Titian was called to Augsburg was not to sit to Cranach, nor to portray afresh the Kaiser, or the princes and nobles around him. The whole bent of Charles' policy and wishes was to promote his son; to this end every consideration was made subordinate, and every detail was calculated. As Charles of old had had to put away the gossiping and friendly manner of a Fleming to take upon himself the starched and haughty air of a Spaniard, so Philip now had to divest himself of the stiffness of a Castilian and—not without reluctance we may think—to assume the friendly *Biederkeit* of a German. He rode German horses, danced German dances, and tried his head and stomach at German drinking parties. But the days were past when his ancestor Philip of Burgundy drank an abbot under the table. Philip of Spain was no more capable constitutionally to bear the coarse but copious fare of the north than he was able physically to unbend and ape a jovial manner. He was not strong, nor fond of martial exercise. His chest was narrow and his legs were spare, and his feet were large and curiously ungainly. His eyes lay under lids like rolls of flesh and full of bilious humour, as if the gall which gave its olive tone to his complexion was anxious to gush and show itself. His projecting under-jaw was poorly concealed by a downy chestnut beard, which by its paucity gave but more importance to a pair of thick and fleshy lips, the chief characteristic of which was

redness. Add to this an oily smoothness of complexion, and short chestnut hair, and we have the face of the prince whose form won the heart of Mary Tudor; whose sensualism was only equalled by his disregard for all that was good and kind in human nature; whose fanaticism sent hundreds of the noblest victims to the stake or the block; whose policy dictated the Armada and lost the Netherlands to Spain. It was for the purpose of making a likeness of this prince, who was then twenty-four years old, that Titian was called to Augsburg. He had not been more than a month at court when he finished the preliminary canvas. In the following February he probably completed the large full-length which hangs in the Museum of Madrid, and in the course of a few successive years he sent forth the long series of copies, the best of which adorns the gallery of Naples.*

That we should enjoy in the case of Philip of Spain both the original sketch for which he sat, and the parade portrait for which he did not sit, is an advantage seldom vouchsafed to admirers of Titian. It is clear that the master's method of preparing pictures intended to be finished was different from that which he practised in throwing off work at one painting. In the first case a known process or a series of processes was systematically carried out, so as to produce substance, impast and tone. In the second

* Records of Dec. 1550, and Feb. 1551, in Appendix, prove that Titian was employed for Philip of Spain immediately on his arrival at Augsburg. We may assume that the payments made to the painter in February are for the finished portrait now at Madrid.

the sole aim of the artist was to determine form and expression during the curt and rapidly fleeting moments conceded by a royal and—we may believe—impatient sitter. The sketch for which Philip of Spain sat to Titian is one of the Barbarigo heirlooms, now in the house of Count Sebastian Giustiniani Barbarigo at Padua. The Prince is sitting, large as life, near an opening through which a landscape and sky are seen, in front of a brown curtain damasked with arabesques and white flowers. His face and body are turned to the left, the axe of the eyeballs facing the spectator. A doublet of black silk buttoned up to the neck allows the frill of a shirt to be seen. Over it lies a pelisse of white silk, with a lining and broad collar of dark fur, and sleeves swelling into slashed puffs at the shoulders. The chain of the Golden Fleece falls over the breast. Part of the head shows its short chestnut hair cropping out from a black berret cap sown with pearls. The hands are roughly outlined with the white pigment which served to colour the pelisse, so as to give the movement without even an indication of the fingers. The left, on the arm of a chair bound in dark cloth fastened with red buttons, the right holding what seems to be a baton or the rudiment of a sceptre. Looking carefully at this canvas, which has only been injured in the least important parts, we discern that the face was struck off from the life rapidly, almost hurriedly, as if the master was conscious that unless he lashed himself into a fury of haste he would not catch quick enough the shape, the action, the colour and the charac-

teristic individualism, or the complexion and temper of the Prince. Like a general in the thick of a fight, who sees through the smoke and hears amidst the din, and curtly but decisively gives the orders which secure a victory, Titian rouses himself to a momentary concentration of faculties, instinctively but surely gives the true run and accent of the lines, and then subsides, sure of success, into rest. His whole power was brought to bear on the head, of which he gave the lineaments and modelling with spare pigment on a very thin smooth canvas, the sallow flesh light merging into half tones of clear red, the darker shadows, as of eye and nostril, laid on in black. Who does not see the application of the old principle, famous for having been enunciated by Titian: "Black, red, and white, and all three well in hand?" The sketch, it is evident, is not such as the master would have shown even to the Prince if he could help it, being as it were his own private memorandum, his "*pensée intime*," meant for himself and no other, a thing that was neither drawing nor painting, yet partaking of both, and sufficient for the reproduction of either;—a surface without the charm of rich tint or broken modulation, but masterly, as giving in a few strokes the moral and physical aspect of his sitter.*

Being now possessed of the sketch, Titian leisurely

* The canvas in the Giustiniani Collection at Padua is a half length on canvas, m. 1.14 h. by 0.95; on a strip at bottom are the comparatively modern words: "PHILIPVS HISPAN. REX." The only parts really injured are the background, which is dark, and some of the accessories. This, no doubt, is the portrait of Philip seen by Vasari, xiii. 37; and Ridolfi, Marav. i. 262.

used it as a groundwork to compose his show portraits of Philip, his first business being to represent the Prince as a captain in damasked steel, and then to display his form in the dress of the court and drawing-room.* In each of these replicas he changed the attitude and costume whilst the head remained the same. Of the first the Prince in armour at Madrid is the earliest, and one to which an interesting fragment of history is attached. Knowing the type of Philip's face and the blemishes of his figure, we should think it hard for a painter to realize a portrait of him true to nature, yet of elevated conception and regal mien. Titian overcomes the difficulty with ease. The sallow ill-shaped face may haunt us and suggest uneasy forebodings as to the spirit and temper of the man, but gloom here is cleverly concealed in grave intentness, and every line tells of the habitual distinction of a man of old blood and high station. The head we saw is the same as in the sketch. It stands out from the gorget relieved by a frill of white linen, beneath which the handsome collar of the Golden Fleece falls to the chest. A breastplate and hip pieces richly inlaid with gold cover the frame and arms. The fine embroidery of the sleeves and slashed hose, the white silk tights and slashed white slippers, form a rich and tasteful dress. The ringed left hand on the hilt of the rapier, the right on the plumed morion which lies on a console covered with a crimson velvet cloth, the whole figure seen in front of a dark wall—

* See Mary of Hungary to Renard, Nov. 19, 1553, in Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, *u. s.*, iv. p. 150, and *postea*.

all this makes up a splendid and attractive full length standing on a carpet of a deep reddish brown.

When Charles the Fifth preferred the suit of Philip to Mary Tudor in 1553, his sister Mary of Hungary sent Titian's masterpiece at the Queen's request to Renard the Spanish envoy in London, telling him "that it was thought very like when executed three years before, but had been injured in the carriage from Augsburg to Brussels. Still, if seen in its proper light and at a fitting distance, Titian's pictures not bearing to be looked at too closely, it would enable the Queen, by adding three years to the Prince's age, to judge of his present appearance." Renard was further directed to present the canvas to Her Majesty with instructions to have it returned when the living original had been substituted for the lifeless semblance.* Had not Mary been previously flattered at the prospect of matching herself to a prince so much her junior, she might have been induced by the mere sight of this piece to entertain the proposal of Charles the Fifth. As it proved, her prepossession was betrayed to her courtiers by admiration of the picture, of which Strype reports that she was "greatly enamoured."† After the marriage in 1554 this most important work of art was faithfully returned to Mary of Hungary, who took it to Spain in 1556.‡ A school replica,

* Mary of Hungary to Renard, Nov. 19, 1553, *u. s.*

† Strype, Memorials, Lond. 1721, iii. p. 196.

‡ This picture, to which a piece has been added all round, is now No. 454 in the Madrid Museum, on canvas, and in size, m. 1·93 h. by 1·11. There are patches of re-touching on the right hand and thigh, and here and there a flaw in other parts. But it is a

made by Orazio or Cesare Vecelli under Titian's superintendence, is preserved at Chatsworth, of which there was a poor example in the Northwick Collection.*

In March 1553 Titian sent his second version of the portrait to Philip,† and this version—it may be—is that which now hangs in the Museum of Naples, where the figure is altered so as to bring the right hand to the waist, and show the left holding a glove, whilst the frame is clad in a splendid doublet of white silk shot with gold, the puffs of the sleeves being braced with red bands and the short mantle lined with dark fur.‡ Of this fine piece, which is hardly inferior to that of Madrid, numerous repetitions or copies exist,

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fine work in the best style of this the broad period of Titian's style. We find it noted in the inventory of Mary of Hungary (1558), *u. s.*, Revue Universelle des Arts, iii. 132. There is a fine photograph of it by Laurent.

* This replica, of life size, on canvas, besides being injured by restoring, to which we should attribute a certain dulness and opacity in the colours, is hard and raw in tone if compared with genuine pictures of Titian, and the contours are much more marked than those of the master. The only point in which the piece differs from its original at Madrid is, that the console to the left leans against the plinth of a pillar. Beneath the crimson cloth which hangs from the console is the foot of the same.

The copy in the Northwick Collection seems to have been made by a Spaniard.

† Titian to Philip, March 23, 1553, in Appendix.

‡ This fine canvas, No. 11 in the Naples Museum, shows Philip at full length, his right hand playing with the tassel at his belt. We are not told whence the picture came. It is signed on the wall to the right of the Prince's feet:

"TITIANVS
EQVES CÆS.
F."

The treatment is more conventional here than at Madrid, but the head is still like, and the features are given with masterly skill. We notice here and there unpleasant signs of stippling, and over all a dull and embrowned varnish.

one of them at Blenheim by some disciple of the master, another better still at the Pitti, whilst two or three feebler imitations are shown at Castle Howard, in the Collection of Lord Stanhope and in the Corsini Palace at Rome.*

Distant memories of Titian's occupations at Augsburg are recalled by scattered notices in the papers of Rubens' succession. During Rubens' stay at Madrid he copied almost all Titian's portraits, and amongst these we find "Philip the II^d^ big as ye life, James the secretarie of the sayd Kynge, and the Kynge's dwarf."† That copy and original of these pictures should be lost is much to be regretted. On the 6th of February, 1551, Titian received from the treasurer of Philip of Spain 230 ducats,‡ at sight of which he was doubtless reminded of pensions overdue at Naples and at Milan, and sat down to write the following epistle.

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* The Blenheim copy is exactly reproduced from that of Naples, on canvas.

The Pitti replica, No. 200, on canvas, is said to be that which, according to Vasari, was sent to the Grand Duke Cosimo I. by Titian (Vas. xiii. 38). It differs from that of Naples in some details, the background being no longer plain but a colonnade, the ground a meadow; the right hand, too, is over the handle of a dagger. Engraved by Mogelli.

The copy at Castle Howard, a half length, is much injured by restoring.

The copy belonging to Lord Stanhope (figure seen to the knees) was exhibited at Manchester. It does not deserve the encomiums of Dr. Waagen. (Treasures, Supplement, p. 181.)

The half length in the Corsini Palace at Rome shows Philip in a black doublet, with his left hand at the hilt of his rapier, the right resting on a table covered with a red cloth. This is a good old copy or adaptation, and not an original Titian.

† From Rubens' Inventory in Sainsbury, *u. s.*, p. 238.

‡ See the payments in Appendix.

TITIAN TO GIULIANO GOSELLINI AT MILAN.

"I am more than certain that the good grace of the Most Reverend Monsignore (Cardinal Gonzaga) and of the Most Illustrious Don Ferrante, will not take effect as I wish unless it be aided by the courtesy of yourself, to whom I already owe so much. I therefore beg that you will put me under still further obligation by presenting the two inclosed letters to your Illustrious Lord and to the President Grasso, and not only present but recommend their contents so as I shall get my 'passion,' or if you like it better, my pension. I may add that I should be content to have the money in your hands or in those of my agent Donato Fognana, provided it can be screwed out of the grasp of the treasury. And this would facilitate business greatly, as I have promised to his Illustrious Lordship, to visit him in satisfaction of the earlier engagement which I made before his Majesty called me to this torrid zone where we are all dying of cold. When I do come I shall repaint the head of your picture, or if necessary begin the whole afresh, as I already promised and arch-promise now. Signor Pola (a captain in Don Ferrante's service) has much facilitated this business with his Lordship, so that President Grasso will easily have the word of the same so as to be able if he listens with a will to the Reverend of Arras (Granvelle) to obtain for me the payment of my due. I beg of you as the Cavalier Leone Aretino is not there to give me further proofs of the affection he bears me, to take charge of this matter for me. The

said Cavalier Leoni now kisses your hand as I likewise do, being more than ever a favourite with the said Monsignore d'Arras; and without further words I pray that God may adorn you with eternal glory.

"*From* AUGSBURG, *Feb.* 10, 1551.

"Your Signore's Servant,

"TITIANO."*

Shortly after this the court broke up from Augsburg, Philip leaving for Spain towards the close of May, Charles the Fifth proceeding to Innspruck, whither we may presume he was followed by Titian. Here, according to an obscure and uncertain tradition, Titian painted an allegorical composition, in which the king and all his family were introduced.† Parting with the master to see him no more, Charles gave him in his son's name, a Spanish pension of 500 scudi, which, like other grants of the same kind, remained unpaid.‡ In August Titian was busy at his usual avocations in Venice.§

* From the original in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.*, p. 12.

† Ridolfi accepts this picture as a reality, because at Titian's funeral it was proposed to represent Titian, on a large canvas, working at it; but this is doubtful authority. See Maraviglie, i. 240 & 281.

‡ Titian to Charles the Fifth, Sept. 10, 1554, in Appendix.

§ Aretino to Francesco Terzi, Aug. 1551, in Lettere di M. P. A. vi. p. 8v.

CHAPTER VI.

Alleged reception of Titian by the Doge in Council.—His suspension from the Sanseria, and resumption of that Office.—Life at Venice.—Portrait of Legate Beccadelli.—Pictures for the Prince of Spain; "Queen of Persia," Landscape, and "St. Margaret."—Of Titian's Landscapes in general.—Prints and Drawings.—"St. Margaret" at Madrid.—Rumours of Titian's Death.—He reports himself alive to the Emperor.—The "Grieving Virgin," the "Trinity," and "Christ appearing to the Magdalen."—Portrait of Doge Trevisani.—Vargas and Thomas Granvelle.—"Danäe," for Philip of Spain, and Replicas of the same.—Titian and Philip.—The "Venus and Adonis."—Philip and Pomponio.—"Virgin of Medole."—Portrait of Doge Venier.—Votive Picture of Doge Trevisani and "The Fede."—Marriage of Lavinia.—Titian sends to Philip the "Perseus and Andromeda."—Decoration of the Library at Venice.—Paolo Veronese.—The "Baptist" of Santa Maria Maggiore.—Death of Aretino.—Titian, Ferrante Gonzaga and the Milan Pension.—"Entombment," sent to Philip and lost.

An anecdote current at the close of the sixteenth century tells how Titian, after his return from Augsburg, was taken before the Venetian Council, and in presence of the Doge Francesco Venier related his experiences at the courts of Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth. After concluding his narrative, the great master is said to have proposed to complete the decoration of the Council Hall. At Titian's funeral in 1576 it was suggested that this incident should be made the subject of a picture, and the plan would have been carried out but for the virulence of the

plague which was then raging.* The sober truth of history refuses unhappily to be reconciled with an anecdote which places Francesoo Venier on the Ducal throne in 1552. The privilege conceded to Venetian envoys was one that would hardly have been granted to an artist even of Titian's celebrity, and the story is probably a fable. But there was good reason why Titian, if not in state, at least through ordinary channels, should enter into communication with the Signors. During his long and protracted absences the government had very properly suspended him from the Sanseria, and now that he was home again he wished that suspension to be withdrawn. There is trace of a petition to the Council of Ten in which the painter prays to be restored to the use of his broker's patent. A decree of October 29, 1552, orders him to be reinstated.† The pictures of the Council Hall were completed in due course not by Titian, but by his son Orazio, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese.

For the latter half of 1551 and the first half of 1552, contemporary letter books contain much more information than the catalogues of public or private collections. Dinners and suppers in which Titian and his friends are guests, and delicacies in season, copiously served on luxurious tables, are of frequent occurrence, but pictures of note or portraits of celebrity are much more scarce. One might fancy that a period had arrived in Titian's life when pleasure alone had attractions for him. Niccolo Massa, a well-known

* Ridolfi, Mar. i. 240, 281. † The record is in Lorenzi, *u. s.* p. 276.

surgeon at Venice, once asked him what his experience was of the variation in his capacity to work, and Titian answered that he had often noticed this variation, being eager one day to paint, unable the next to do anything but idle. The cause he could not explain, though some people assigned it to the conjunction of certain planets. Massa's explanation was, that the variations depended upon the inner heat or coldness of the body.* With Titian we may believe moments of weariness and disinclination to work were short and rare, and when we find nothing written as to his labours, we may almost be sure that historians have simply neglected to notice the results of his unconquerable love of hard work. Aretino, in a letter of August, 1551, to Francesco Terzi, reminds his correspondent that Titian has become possessed of a lordly income by dint of exertion and toil; but he adds, "I would not exchange my ease for his wealth on any consideration."† Titian, it might be, was laying in stock or composing the vast picture of the "Trinity" which was to be delivered in 1555. We dimly note for 1552 the completion of a portrait of the legate Beccadelli, a "Queen of Persia," a landscape and a "St. Margaret" for the Prince of Spain.‡

Beccadelli had been sent to Venice after the death of Paul the Third to supersede Giovanni della Casa. On the eve of his arrival both Aretino and Titian were

* "Facile est inventis addere," by Niccolo Massa, 8vo, Venice, 1556, cit. in Cicogna, Isc. Ven. vi., 805.

† Lettere di M. P. A., vi. p. 8v.

‡ See further on, Titian to the Prince of Spain, Oct. 11, 1552.

speculating as to his power to relieve a common friend from unexpected tribulation. The curate of the Minorites, their joint confessor, had been thrown into gaol for denying the divine origin of "confession," and Aretino could think of no better way to compass his liberation than to await Beccadelli's coming.* Titian finished this portrait, now at the Uffizi, in July, 1552, and it is a magnificent likeness, in which the true grain of what may be called Churchman's flesh is reproduced in a form both clear and fair but with the slight puffiness and tendency to droop which is characteristic in priests. The whole picture is painted after Titian's fashion in these days with broad immediate sweeps of a brush loaded with plenteous consistent pigment grained to a pleasant warmth. The oblong but regular head with spacious forehead, pointed beard and tumid lips, is seen to great advantage beneath a black triangular cap. A black silk cape and lawn sleeves admirably relieve a pair of hands of perfect workmanship, holding between them a piece of unfolded paper. The prelate is seated in an arm-chair, and looks up as if he was about to communicate the contents of the paper to some one near him. In a letter enclosing a sonnet in honour of this picture, Aretino—truly for once—said that as there were two Charleses, one created by Nature and the other by Titian, so now there were two Beccadelli to listen to Aretino's verse.†

* Aretino to Titian, Venice, Oct. 1549, in Lett. di M. P. A., v. 198.

† Lettere di M. P. Aretino, vi. 102, Aretino "to the Secretary of the Legate," Venice, Oct. 1552. The picture is on canvas, num-

The canvases intended for Philip of Spain were despatched to Madrid in the course of the same year, the last being the "Queen of Persia," which was accompanied by the following letter.

TITIAN TO THE PRINCE OF SPAIN.

"MOST HIGH AND POTENT SIGNOR,

"Having recently obtained a 'Queen of Persia' of some quality, which I thought worthy of appearing before your Highness' exalted presence, I had her sent, pending the time when other works of mine were drying, to take embassies from me to your Highness, and be company to the landscape and St. Margaret previously sent by Ambassador Vargas, under cover to the bishop of Segovia. Meanwhile, may God keep and prosper your Highness's high and potent person and state in all the prosperity and felicity which your Highness's most devoted servant Titian desires.

"*From* VENICE, 11*th of October*, 1552.

"Most high and potent Signor's servant, who kisses your feet,

"TITIANO VECELLIO."*

bered at the Uffizi, 1116, and of life size. On the paper, in the prelate's hand, we read:

"JULIVS P. P. III.

Venerabilis fratri Ludovico epō Ravelleñ, apud dominium Venetorum, nostro et aplicæ sedis nuntio [cum annum ageret LII, Titianus Vecellius faciebat Venetiis MDLII, mense Julii]."

In a later character:

"Translatus deinde MDLV die XVIII Septembris a Paulo Quarto Pontē maximo ad archiepiscopûm Ragusinum quo pervenit die IX Decembris proxime subsequente."

The background of the picture is dark brown; the whole a perfect piece of harmony in a predominant warm brownish tone, and with all the vapour of a hot sunny day upon it. Engraved by J. C. Ulmer.

* See the original in Appendix.

Titian once before wrote to kiss the feet of Charles the Fifth, but he had been usually content to kiss the hands of his patrons. His last stay at Augsburg made him better acquainted with the idol worship of the Castilians, and the canny old mountaineer of seventy-five now kissed the feet of his prince like any Spanish secretary.* But let us remember these are the days and the customs which the satire of Rabelais vainly strove to change and chastise, and Venice, like Spain, was still to some extent under the influence of Oriental customs.

For the first time in the annals of Italian painting we hear of a picture which claims to be nothing more than a landscape; and of this landscape Titian was the painter. We look through the numberless catalogues of the 17th century and find but one reference to a piece of the kind by the great Venetian. It was "a landscape with soldiers and animals," in the collection of Paolo del Sera.† European galleries may be searched almost in vain for such productions, and there is but one canvas at Windsor in which the figures are altogether subordinate. Yet it may be easily conceived that Titian often had such works on his easel, though they may subsequently have perished, neglected alike by the indifferent or the religious of all denominations. Aurelio Luini once paid a visit to Titian, and asked

* In all the official correspondence of diplomatists with Philip the Second, the secretaries invariably kiss the hands and feet of his Majesty, and wish him increase of kingdoms and lordships. The times have undergone a radical change since then.

† Ridolfi, Mar. i. 262.

him how he connected his trees with the ground in his compositions. Titian showed him divers ways of doing this, and brought an admirable landscape from one of the rooms of his house, which struck Aurelio at first as a daub, till, drawing back to a distance he found it suddenly light up as with the beams of the sun. He left the workshop declaring that he never had seen anything so rare in its way as this creation.*

How nobly Titian furnished his canvases with backgrounds has often been noted. The awful gloom of mountains, their "fellowship with clouds, their personality as they stand sphinx-like in attitude of repose or writhing like hooded giants striving to be free," their majesty as they sit "like tutelary powers presiding over some gentle scene," have been sketched with enthusiasm by the pen of Gilbert. "Forest depths, masses of foliage backed by banks of solemn cloud, glinting lights amongst the boles of trees," had as much attraction for Titian as "the domestic charm of cottage and farm."† Pictures in which these characteristic features exclusively occur have not as we saw been preserved. But numerous etchings and drawings show how fondly Titian would have given his time to such subjects had he but found a public to appreciate their value. There are quaint and startling views of dolomites in the prints of Lefèbre, forming backgrounds to homesteads equally quaint and pic-

* Lomazzo. Trattato, *u. s.*, p. 474.

† Gilbert's Cadore, *u.s.*, pp. 7, 72, &c.

turesque, in which castellated towers are roofed with ragged and long projecting deals, and rocky boulders are watered at their bases by rapid torrents. Sometimes it is but the outskirt of a hamlet or town that we see, with the orchards near it, and a bridge defended sometimes by a keep spanning a quick flowing stream. A figure or at most two figures are thrown into the foreground to give a name to the picture. In one of Boldrini's woodcuts, of 1566, free in line as if it had been drawn by Titian himself, a charming figure of Venus is shown sitting under trees with Cupid nestling in the folds of her dress. Here is a good study of rocks and grasses in a glen overshadowed by pines. Gnarled trunks and roots and broken ground with weeds and rushes are striking accompaniments to some of the prints of St. Jerome in the wilderness. But more characteristic, and of more lasting interest, are the drawings in which every form to be found in inanimate nature is consigned to paper. A screen of beeches near boulders, belonging to Mr. Malcolm of Poltallock, a clump of trees in front of a village backed by Alps, a study of tree trunks and meadow side, before a range half covered with round or stunted arborescence, or a solitary group of twined stumps, with scant leafage in advance of a castle lying tarn-like in the gloom of a mountain cauldron, are but a few of a series in the gallery of Florence. A figure of a naked boy or a woman often cowers in the foreground, giving—in the absence of aërial perspective—a measure of the distance to which the planes recede. In the Museum of Dresden, a large sheet

contains a view of a haven with an approach by two deep channels, and a fortified port of a triangular shape, presenting its wedged apex to the spectator. A castle crowning a precipice to the right commands the entrance on that side, where galleys of war are lying in the stream. Behind the town a rolling coast rises majestically to a distance of dolomitic rocks. At the Albertina in Vienna, another sheet shows a town nestling on the slopes of hills, the wooded crests of which grandly contrast with the bareness of the more distant peaks. A more extensive view, partaking at once of mountain, plain, water and sea-shore, is that in a drawing at the Louvre, in which a canopy of low-lying cloud is reflected in the stream, towards which Europa is flying on the back of the bull. Titian's dolomites we may confess are often exaggerated in form or unnatural in setting. The leafage of his trees is mostly conventional. But in drawing chiefly with the pen, his treatment is surprisingly effective and often most poetic.

As—unhappily—no clue to the landscape despatched to Philip of Spain has been discovered, so unfortunately no trace remains of the "Queen of Persia," by which it was accompanied. But we still possess the "St. Margaret," which for centuries adorned a gloomy hall in the gloomy Escorial. Though now in a bad state in the Museum of Madrid, it is a fine remnant of a picture in which Titian clearly did his best to captivate the young and powerful prince, to whom he was willing to offer all his incense. The vast frame of the dragon stretches from the left foreground to the

mouth of the cavern which yawns in the background to the right. In front of him the saint bears the cross in her left hand, and as she passes not without haste, turns round to go, whilst her glance is still fettered by the monster's open throat and paw. This subject, often painted by Giulio Romano,* had never as yet been touched by Titian. He gave it all the charm of a grand and sprightly form in fine and lively movement. He managed a convolution of a few simple lines with great skill and simplicity, and clothed the surfaces within these lines with rich and harmonious tints, such as only Titian was able to produce. Pity that the green mantle which swathed the saint's shape and relieved the brightness of a light red scarf, should be injured by a long and irrepressible scar on the canvas, extending from the cheek of the figure at one end to the left leg and foot at the other.†

Titian's connection with the Imperial family was not severed in the least by separation, nor was his correspondence allowed to drop from lack of response.

* One of these is in the Louvre, the other in the Belvedere at Vienna. Both were assigned for years to Raphael.

† This canvas, M. 2·42 h. by 1·82, is now No. 469 in the Madrid Museum, having been in the Escorial. The monks, who disliked the sight of the bare leg, had it painted over with a drapery which has since been removed, leaving the flesh abraded. This, and the left side of the face, is heavily repainted. In the distance to the left the landscape is coloured by the flames of a burning city. In the foreground to the right is a human skull. On the rock in which the cavern mouth is yawning we read, "TITIANVS." Two copies of this piece are still at the Escorial.

A very similar picture by Titian, in the collection of Charles the First of England, is no longer to be traced. See Bathoe's Catalogue, *u. s.* See the engravings by an anonymous hand, and by H. Howard.

Philip acknowledged the receipt of Titian's letter of October in a despatch of the 12th of December, and for this the painter made humble return in the following March, 1553, declaring "that the kindness of the Prince's answer had made him young again, and praying that pending the completion of certain 'poesies' which he had in preparation, His Highness would accept a portrait of himself (the Prince) which he now begged to forward." *

On the back of this letter Philip wrote the following memorandum in his own hand.

"For Italy on the 18th of June, by Don Antonio de Bineros from Madrid.

"Answer Titian.

"WELL BELOVED AND FAITHFUL,

"By Ortiz the servant of our ambassador at Venice we received your letter and the portrait which accompanied it; for which, being from your own hand, as well as for the trouble you have taken, we give you many thanks, together with assurance of our good will in respect of your offer."

Almost at the same time Charles the Fifth wrote to Vargas to ask whether it was true as rumoured at Brussels that Titian had died.

* The original of Titian's letter is in Appendix. It alludes to Philip's despatch of the previous December, which has not been preserved.

CHARLES THE FIFTH TO FRANCESCÒ VARGAS, AT VENICE.

"It is rumoured here that Titian is dead, but the rumour has not been confirmed and is probably untrue. Give us advice of the truth, and say whether Titian has finished certain pictures which he was charged to execute when he left Augsburg, or how far he has got on with them.

"*From* BRUSSELS, *May* 31, 1553." *

Writing at the close of June, Titian conclusively proved to the Emperor that he was alive,† but Vargas, after communicating similar intelligence, gave account to the Emperor not only of the great picture of the Trinity, but of other works which the master had been painting for Charles and Mary of Hungary.

FRANCESCO VARGAS TO CHARLES THE FIFTH, AT BRUSSELS.

"Titian is alive and well, and not a little pleased to know that your Majesty was inquiring for him. He took me to see the 'Trinity,' which he promised to finish towards the end of September. It seems to me to be a fine work. Equally so a Christ appearing to the Magdalen in the garden for the Serenissima Queen Mary. The other picture he says will be a 'grieving Virgin,' companion to the 'Ecce Homo,' already in possession of your Majesty, which he has

* See the original in Appendix.

† Titian to Charles the Fifth, in Ticozzi, p. 309. The date, which Ticozzi does not give, is supplied by the following letter of Vargas.

not done because the size was not given, but which he will execute so soon as the particulars are sent to him.

"*From* VENICE, 30*th of June*, 1553." *

Meanwhile Francesco Donato the Doge having attained to the great age of eighty, had been gathered to his fathers, and found a substitute in the pious senator Marc-Antonio Trevisani. Titian was forced to suspend his labours to portray the new prince, and Aretino was enabled to write a sonnet in praise of the likeness in November.† A replica fortunately survived the original, which perished in the fire of 1577, and this replica in the Sterne collection at Vienna betrays the sickly complexion of a man who died after a year of office as he sat at mass in a room of the public palace. There is no picture of the time in which Titian has more superficially contrasted the smoothness and polish of flesh with accidents of texture in dress. The figure and face are turned to the right; the ducal cap of yellow silk and gold seems to overweight the head, which shows all the signs of disease, in a dull black eye, and skin suffused with bile. A black beard streaked with grey, falls on the rich lemon-toned damask of the mantle, the folds of which are kept together with the left hand whilst the right grasps a white handkerchief.‡ We can

* The original is in Appendix.

† Aretino to Boccamazza, Ven. Nov. 1553, in Lettere de M. P. A. vi. 203.

‡ This canvas is m. 0·99 h. by 0·86, and was long in the Festetits Collection. The figure is seen to the thigh, and is not free

hardly doubt that the master bestowed more care and spent more time on the contemporary portraits of Francesco Vargas and the Protonotary Thomas Granvelle, each of which adorned the palace of the Imperial embassy and Titian's house at Venice in the winter of 1553–4.*

In spring and summer of 1554 Titian finished and forwarded to their several destinations four important works,—the "Danae" of Madrid for the Prince of Spain, "Christ appearing to the Magdalen," which Queen Mary of Hungary took with her from the Netherlands to Spain, the "Grieving Virgin," and the "Trinity" to which allusion was made in the letter of Vargas. Philip received the "Danae" but a few days before he left Corunna for the shores of Britain.† A companion piece representing Venus and Adonis, despatched a little later from Venice, reached him in London about three months after his marriage with Mary Tudor, and it is curious to note how the annals of art here confirm what historians of the time have told respecting a prince whose habitual regularity of church observance did not exclude the utmost freedom in respect of connection with the fair sex. "*Se non ha il Re' per casto,*" the Venetian envoy wrote from London to his government, and Philip's taste for the lightest

from restoring, particularly in the parts immediately beneath the beard.

* Aretino to Titian, Venice, October, 1553. The same to Vasallo, Nov. 1553, and Aretino to Thomas Granvelle, Jan. 1554, in Lettere, *u. s.*, vi. 193, 203–5, and 220ᵛ. Neither of these portraits is at present to be traced.

† The date of arrival in Spain is not exactly stated.

nudities of the Venetian school seems to confirm the statement.*

In the "Danae" as in other canvases of the same class, Titian was no longer producing anything new or original, but merely composing variations upon old and well-worn themes. The "Danae" of Madrid is not different in any essential particular from that of Naples. It is only coarser and more realistic. One of the distinct peculiarities of the "Danae" of Naples was form of ideal beauty akin to that of the antique, and colour of richness only attainable on Titian's palet. The "Danae" of Madrid lies in the same attitude as its earlier prototype and is cast in a similar mould, but the shape is less refined, the contours are less clean, and—it is clear—a certain obtuseness has grown upon Titian, who now felt with less delicacy than of yore. The sacrifice of poetry and sentiment to realism, equally marked in the palatial and festive canvases of Paolo Veronese, and in the lowly and pastoral pieces of Giacomo Bassano, is already complete, and the limbs, the hands and feet of Danae will no more permit us to think of princely birth or tender nurture than the hag who catches the gold pieces in her apron will help us to remember the classic loves of Jove. But this brings us to another feature in which the Madrid canvas differs from that of Naples. Cupid here has disappeared, and has taken away his bow and arrows. A little dog lies curled up at Danae's side. The gold pieces fall from the clouds, and an

* Relatione di Giovanni Michele, in Prescott's Philip the Second.

DANAË. HERMITAGE, AT ST. PETERSBURG.

[*Vol. II. p.* 228.

old woman with a key at her girdle sits at the foot of the couch, and greedily watches them as they fall into her dress. But to give Titian his due,—if we accept as unalterable the coarser fibre of thought which runs through the picture—we shall still admire the wonderful power which lies in the artist's touch, his effectiveness in the distribution of light and shade and colour, and his absolute mastery in reproducing nature. As a study of character nothing can be more true or more strikingly real than the hag on the bedside, and as a contrast to fairness and youth what can be more telling than old age and weather-beaten skin, or the sear of vice and rags.*

We cannot trace to Titian's easel a replica which formed part of the Granvelle collection,† but more than once in later days the master rang the changes on this composition without altering it, and extant repetitions in St. Petersburg and Vienna fully demonstrate the popularity of the subject. In the Petersburg example the dog is absent, and the old woman wears

* This canvas is mentioned in a letter which Titian wrote to Philip in Nov. 1554 (Ticozzi, Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 312). He speaks of it as having been forwarded earlier in the year. It is now No. 458 in the Madrid Museum, having been preserved for centuries in the "Titian Hall" at the Alcazar. It is on canvas, m. 1·28 h. by 1·78, and the figures are as large as life. It has been injured by cleaning and repairs, and there are bad patchings with new paint about the upper part of the right arm, the left breast, and abdomen. The toes of the right foot are also repainted, and the sky is so altered that the face of Jove in the clouds has disappeared. The old woman with her grey cap, naked shoulders, and brown dress, is best preserved. There are engravings of this piece by Sutman, Lisebetius, Le Fèbre, and Richer.

† This picture was 3 ft. h. by 5½. See the inventory in Castan, *u. s.*, p. 55.

a brown dress;* whilst a second at Vienna gives the form of the hag fronting the spectator, and holding up a chased dish. Both these canvases are executed with bold Titianesque ease of hand, and must be held to be originals, though perhaps not carried out without assistance from Cesare Vecelli, or Girolamo, the favourite of the master's workshop.†

Titian received his reward for the "Danae" of Madrid through Vargas. In a letter to Philip he acknowledged that the guerdon was more suited to the Prince's greatness than to the painter's merit; but he promised to finish quickly the "Venus and Adonis" in order that he might deserve it more.‡ Having done

* The Petersburg example is on canvas, No. 100 of the Gallery of the Hermitage, m. 1·2 by 1·88, or about 3 ft. 8 by 7 ft. It has also been damaged by unequal cleaning and abrasions, which have removed some glazings and half-tones, leaving the whites especially raw and cold. It was, 1633, in the collection of the Marquis de Vrillière, afterwards in the French collections of Thévenin, Bourvalais, and Crozat. It is engraved in reverse by Louis Desplaces.

† This picture, No. 36 in the 2nd room of the 1st Floor (Ital. Sch.), in the Belvedere of Vienna, is 4 ft. 3 h. by 4 ft. 8, and inscribed beneath the left foot of Danae, "TITIANVS ÆQVES CÆS." But this inscription is modern, though it may have been repainted on the old lines. It is more injured than the Petersburg example, and less in focus. The head of Danae is in part rubbed away, the toes of the right foot are renewed, and glazes here and there have been removed. A copy of the Petersburg replica, possibly by the Spaniard Mazo, is in the collection of the Duke of Wellington in London; a copy of that of Vienna, in the collection of Lady Malmesbury, was sold in 1876 for £15 4*s.* 6*d.*; a Venetian adaptation of the Naples original is at Cobham Hall. In February, 1875, there was on view at Angers, a "Danae by Titian," and said to have belonged to the Buoncompagni family at Bologna. The same picture was exhibited at Milan in 1874. In both cities it was said that it had been purchased for the Emperor of Russia for 630,000 fr.

‡ The letter without date in Ticozzi (Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 312), must have been written at the close of Spring in 1554.

this, he penned a contrasting letter to Charles the Fifth, announcing the completion and delivery of the "Trinity" and "Addolorata," and complaining—we may think justly—that his claims for pensions on Milan and Naples had never as yet been satisfied.

TITIAN TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

"MOST SACRED CÆSAREAN MAJESTY,

"By order of your Cæsarean Majesty a yearly provision of 200 scudi was assigned to me at Milan, and a privilege for the carriage of corn was granted to me at Naples. The latter has cost me hundreds of scudi to pay an agent in the kingdom. Lastly, I received a 'naturalezza' in Spain for one of my sons, to which a yearly pension of 500 scudi was attached. It has been my ill fortune to fail in obtaining anything from these grants, and I now beg leave to say a word to your Majesty respecting them, hoping that the liberal mind of the greatest Christian Emperor that ever lived will not suffer his orders to be contemned by his ministers. I should consider such a benefit as an act of charity, inasmuch as I am straitened for means, having been in ill health, and having married a daughter. My supplication to the celestial Queen to intercede for me with your C. M. finds expression in the record of her image, which now comes before your Majesty with a semblance of grieving which reflects the quality of my troubles. I also send the picture of the 'Trinity,' and, had it not been for the tribulation I have undergone, I should have finished and sent it earlier, although in my wish to satisfy

your C. M. I have not spared myself the pains of striking out two or three times the work of many days to bring it to perfection and satisfy myself, whereby more time was wasted than I usually take to do such things. But I shall hold myself fortunate if I give satisfaction, and beg your C. M. will accept my eager wish to be of service, my greatest ambition being to do a pleasure to your Majesty, whose all powerful hand I kiss with all devotion and humility of heart.

"*From* VENICE, *Sept.* 10, 1554."

"The portrait of Signor Vargas, introduced into the work, was done at his request. If it should not please your C. M. any painter can, with a couple of strokes, convert it into another person.

"Of your Cæsarean Majesty,

"The most humble Servant,

"TITIANO, *Pittore.*" *

It is unfortunate for Titian's character for veracity that the contract for his daughter's marriage should be dated in 1555, instead of in 1554, but the word "married" may be charitably attributed to the promise rather than to the consummation of Lavinia's union.

A letter from Francesco Vargas communicated to the Emperor the dispatch of the "Trinity" and "Addolorata," which left Venice for the Netherlands on the 11th of October, 1554, and there is every reason for thinking that Mary of Hungary was destined to receive by the same conveyance the "Christ appearing to the Magdalen," which she after-

* See the original letter in Appendix.

wards took with her to Spain.* For a long time Titian's latest version of the "Noli me tangere" was preserved at the Escorial, where a copy of it still exists. The original was mutilated in a strange and unaccountable way, and what remains of it is a fine head and bust of the Saviour holding a hoe in his left hand.†

The "Virgin of Grief," being on slate, was probably saved by the strength of its materials from sharing the fate of many other masterpieces of Titian. It was a companion piece to the "Ecce Homo," and as such, properly represented the Virgin as a mother lamenting over the sufferings of the Son. The face, at three-quarters to the left, is bent forward, the glance is intent, and the hands are held up in token of grieving. Sweetness and richness of colour are combined with great blending and very delicate transitions of tone. But the type and expression and the cast of the features indicate the master's irrepressible tendency to absolute realism.‡

* The letter of Vargas is in Appendix.

† This fragment, on canvas fast to panel, is No. 489 in the Madrid Museum, m. 0·68 h. by 0·62. It represents the Saviour at three-quarters to the left, in a white tunic and blue mantle, with rays issuing from the head; distance, sky. The fragment was found at the Escorial by Don P. Madrazo; it then served as a cover to an oil jar. See an account of this by Mr. J. C. Robinson, in the "Academy" for March, 1872. The proof that the picture in its entire state was taken to Spain, is to be found in Queen Mary's inventory of 1556, in Revue Universelle des Arts, *u. s.*, iii. 141; another edition of this subject was seen unfinished in Titian's atelier by Vasari in 1566 (xiii. 44).

‡ Madrid Mus., No. 468, on slate, m. 0·68 h. by 0·53. The Virgin wears a violet tunic and blue mantle, the latter partly covering the head, on which there is a white cap. The figure is a bust of life size. See *postea*.

It has been remarked that the distribution of the "Trinity" was in defiance of the laws of composition, whilst the strained attitude of most of the figures was detrimental to their general effect.* There is no doubt a great deal of truth in the reproach, for we miss altogether the convergence and symmetrical arrangement of lines which so large a subject on so vast a scale required. But it should be remembered that Titian was working at a theme dictated to him by the Emperor or some of his spiritual advisers, and if he failed under these circumstances to produce the necessary pictorial equilibrium he was not much to blame. We are bound meanwhile to concede that he all but restored the balance by contrasts of light and shade, and a vivid spread of harmonious colour unattainable by any artist but himself. One might add, indeed, that the glorious medium of light amidst clouds, in which his personages are suspended, transfigures the host which he has brought together, and makes one forget the colossal bulk of some, the violent movement of others, and the realism which more than ever reveals itself in the rendering of all. In the highest circle of the heavens, and as it were in a halo of golden radiance, the two first Persons of the Trinity are seated in awful majesty, with crystal orbs and sceptres in their hands. About them the countless array of cherubim and seraphim loses itself in a brilliant mist. Lower down in the clouds the Virgin stands before the heavenly tribunal, and intercedes for the sinners at

* Waagen, Ueber in Spanien Vorhandene Gemälde in Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft, Leipzig, 1868, vol. i. p. 118.

whose head Charles the Fifth to the right is kneeling. The monarch in profile looks up prayerfully. Behind him is the Empress, lower down Mary of Hungary, Philip, and his sister, all easily recognised by their characteristic features—each of them in their winding sheets, and in action of prayer. The crown, emblem of the Imperial dignity, is at Charles's feet, and seems to indicate his purpose of abdicating the throne. Beneath the royal group and on the same side, there are several figures in which it may be possible to recognise Vargas, bearded, and simulating the patient Job. We can fancy Titian giving this character to an envoy of the Kaiser with some sort of tremor. Further down the canvas, and in the very centre of the clouds, are grand representations of Moses with the tables, Noah holding up a model of the ark, on which the dove is resting with the olive branch, and near him a female with long and copious tresses, who may be the Magdalen; further on to the left in ascending lines, the Evangelists and Prophets. The sheen of the colours can hardly be described, and particularly the sheen of the blue raiment in which the Eternal, Christ, and the Virgin are clad. The outlines are lost in the rounding of the parts as they lose themselves under similar conditions in nature, and the flesh is stamped off as it were with grand robust touches, reminding us of those words which Titian spoke to Vargas when asked why he painted with so large a brush.* After Charles's abdication in 1555, several

* See *antea*, i. p. 329.

pictures of his favourite master were taken to the solitude of Yuste, and amongst them the "Trinity," upon which he often gazed at last with great fondness and pleasure.* In a codicil of his will, which Philip the Second was induced to disregard, the dying Emperor ordered the piece to be framed and set up on the high altar of the Jeronymite monastery. Philip carried off his father's remains and the "Trinity" together, and both were taken to the Escorial, where the ashes of the great master still repose, whilst the "Last Judgment" as he called it, upon which his last glances were thrown, was removed to the Madrid Museum.†

* Figueroa, in Prescott's Philip II. See also the inventory of pictures taken by Charles the Fifth to Spain, and left by him at Yuste, in Revue Universelle des Arts, *u. s.*, iii. 227-30. Compare also Stirling's Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth; Mignet's Charles V., 8vo, Paris, 2nd ed., p. 452, and Gachard's Retraite et Mort de Charles V., 8vo, Brux. 1855, ii. pp. 90—93. The pictures taken to Yuste were: 1, "The Trinity"; 2, the "Ecce Homo" and 3, the "Addolorata," the two last framed as a diptych; 4, a "Madonna" by Titian, in a diptych, with "Christ carrying his Cross," by Michael Coxie; 5, a "Pieta," by Titian; 6, a "Virgin and Child," by Titian; 7, the "Emperor and Empress," on one canvas, by Titian; 8, the "Emperor in Armour," by Titian; 9, the "Empress," by Titian.

† "The Trinity" is now No. 462 at the Madrid Museum, on canvas, m. 3·46 h. by 2·40. The figures on the foreground are of life size, and one of them, on the left—St. John Evangelist, lying on the outstretched pinions of an eagle—holds a roll of paper in his right hand, on which we read: "TITIANVS P." Beneath the clouds, and quite at the base of the picture, is a strip of distant landscape, with woods and hills, and people assembling near a chapel. Till 1823 a copy of this canvas was on the high altar of Yuste. C. Cort engraved the original, probably from a drawing under Titian's direction in 1564. The same composition reversed bears the name of Hondius. A fair photograph from the original was taken by Laurent. Titian's petition to the government at Venice to print the "Trinity" is still extant, dated Feb. 4, 1568. See Cadorin, Dello Amore, 9 & 65

"Grieving Madonnas" or the "Day of Judgment," warning mortals of the perishable nature of man, were fit subjects for the contemplation of a monarch in the frame of mind peculiar to Charles the Fifth, in 1554; classic fables, like the "Danae" or "Adonis," were better suited to the taste of Philip. Titian worked alternately at both, and dispatched them to their destination almost simultaneously. In a letter written during the autumn of 1554, Titian sent congratulations to the new king-consort of England, and forwarded the "Adonis," saying that "if in the 'Danae' the forms were to be seen frontwise, here was occasion to look at them from a contrary direction, a pleasant variety," he added, "for the ornament of a *camerino*. Other views he hoped to give of 'Perseus and Andromeda,' and 'Jason and Medea,' to which he intended soon to add a devotional picture, on which he had already been labouring for ten years."* To Don Giovanni Benevides, a member of Philip's household, Titian also wrote in September, claiming his favour and interest with the King, and saying he would have sent the "Perseus" and a "Devotion" for the Queen, but

A small copy of this picture, in possession of the Duke of Cleveland, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1872. It previously belonged to Lord Harry Vane and Mr. Rogers, and was called "Titian's original sketch for the Trinity at Madrid." (Waagen, Treasures, ii. 77, favours this opinion, and mistakes Noah's Ark for Charles the Fifth's coffin. See also Mrs. Jameson's Private Galleries, p. 401). But it is a copy and not a sketch; a copy, too, of quite uncertain date, which was taken to England by Mr. Wallis about 1808, after having been discovered, as alleged, in a gambling-house at Madrid. (See the Manchester Catalogues.)

* Titian to Philip, in Ticozzi, p. 312. This letter has no date, but Philip's reply to it is of Dec. 6, 1554. See *postea*.

that his time had been taken up with the "Trinity" composed for the Emperor.* Meanwhile, the "Adonis" reached its destination in London in such a state that Philip was quite distressed to look at it. "The 'Adonis' has arrived," he writes to Vargas, "but so ill-treated that it must be repaired, having a long fold across the middle of the canvas. It were best," he concluded, "not to send pictures till I give special instructions respecting them."†

There is clear trace of the injury on the canvas now hanging at Madrid, a long furrow running horizontally across the composition and parting the head from the shoulders of Venus; but irrespective of this the picture was again but a variation, and not one of the best of its kind, on an old theme, and although the goddess is fine and Adonis manly, the figure of the young hunter appears to have been drawn from a rigid model, and betrays much more of the sitter than the earlier and more coloured original at Alnwick, whilst the landscape is neither as genial in tone nor as beautiful in lines as it might have been had Titian painted it all with his own hand.‡ The truth is,

* This letter, dated Sept. 10, 1554, is in full in Ticozzi's Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 312.

† The original, dated Dec. 6, 1554, is in Appendix; an extract from it in Madrazo's Madrid Catalogue, p. 247, is falsely dated March 4, 1556.

‡ The "Adonis," though intended as a companion piece to the "Danae," is larger. It is on canvas, m. 1·86 h. by 2·07, and numbered 455 in the Madrid Museum. A long furrow runs horizontally across the middle of the canvas, cutting the trunk of the trees to the left, in which Cupid's bow and quiver are hung, dividing the sleeping Amor into two parts, showing along Venus's shoulder and Adonis's breast, and ending in the distant trees to the right. Two longitudinal stripes lower down show that the picture

apparently, that the subject was popular and often repeated, and for this reason palled on the master and his disciples; and this may account for the neglectful way in which many of the replicas were executed, a fact of which we become aware when looking at examples in the National Gallery, or in the collection of Lord Elcho.* But the truth may also be that Titian had been working hard and continuously, when his better impulse was dulled by the pain of domestic troubles. There were letters exchanged between Pomponio Vecelli and Aretino in 1554,

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was rolled and then squeezed flat by an accident. The colours are the same as at Alnwick. In the clouds to the right a small figure of a god looks down. Adonis holds three dogs in a leash. On the foreground to the left is a vase. The picture was engraved by Jul. Sanuto and R. Sadeler; there is a photograph of it by Laurent. We may suspect that Orazio Vecelli was no stranger to the execution, of which Dolce wrote so enthusiastically to the patrician Alessandro Contarini, at Venice. See Zucchi, Idea del seq., ed. of 1614, p. 4, in Cicogna, Isc. Ven., iii. p. 236.

* No. 34 in the National Gallery, on canvas, 5 ft. 9 h. by 6 ft. 2, was in the Colonna Palace at Rome till 1800. It is a counterpart of the Madrid example, but painted with less delicacy, and apparently with much help from Schiavone. It might, indeed, have been altogether carried out by that disciple of Titian. Besides some general retouching, there is here some wholesale daubing of a modern character in the sleeping Cupid. Of this there are engravings by Sir R. Strange and W. Holt.

Lord Elcho's repetition of this piece is injured, but on the whole less satisfactory than the foregoing. It is a school work, of which, as of the National Gallery canvas, there are small but very modern copies in the Nostitz Collection at Prague, and in the Gallery of Dulwich.

It is impossible to say which of these repetitions originally belonged to the Marquess Serra of Milan in Scanelli's time. (See the Microcosmo, *u. s.*, p. 222.) Sir A. Hume notes this subject by Titian in the Lomellini Palace at Genoa (Notices, p45). , and there was a replica ascribed to Titian in the collection of Queen Christine. (See Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, *u. s.*, p. 340.)

which show that the scapegrace had been driven to a state of anger and distress by some very decided measures of his father.* Titian had lost all confidence in his son's amendment, and taken steps to control him rigorously. In April, 1554, he had written to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, to ask permission to substitute one of his nephews for Pomponio in the canonry of Medole, and in the following October he had become possessed of the benefice of St. Andrea del Fabbro, near Mestre, of which the income was secured to himself.† It is difficult to ascertain whether Pomponio was most angered by the loss of the benefice of Medole, or by Titian's refusal to grant to him St. Andrea del Fabbro. But he must have felt very keenly the preference which Titian soon after showed to his nephew. In order to ingratiate the new incumbent with his flock, Titian presented to the parish church a picture of "Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary," and this masterpiece, on the high altar of St. Mary of Medole, shows with what interest he did his work, and how much of real heart he threw into it. The scene which the painter imagined is the meeting of Mary and Christ after the Ascension. The Virgin kneels on the clouds and raises her hands with marks of surprise as she looks at the Saviour, who stands

* Aretino to Pomponio, in Lett. di M. P. A., vi. p. 182.

† Titian's letter to Gonzaga is in Appendix, together with a *précis* of the instrument by which Talamio, a priest at Reggio, cedes his rights to the benefice of Sant. Andrea del Fabbro, which Titian in 1557 conferred on Pomponio. See also a Breve of Cardinal Trivulzi, under date of Sept. 30, 1557, in Cadorin, Dello Amore.

before her in the garb of the tomb and shows her the stigmata. To the left, behind the Redeemer, Adam, the first man, poises in the mist the beam of a cross, and behind him stands Eve; and two patriarchs, perhaps Noah and Abraham, show their bearded faces. Rays issue flame-like from Christ's head, and a supernatural halo pierces the heaven, which is arched as it were with winged cherubim. One cannot but admire the vigour which Titian here displays, and remembering his age, one feels inclined to compare him to an old and mighty oak which, in spite of years, expands its canopy of fresh and healthy leaves. Granted that the forms are cast in a mould more indicative of strength than of grace, that the features are more expressive than select—granted, in fact, the realism which now characterises Titian, it is hardly possible to point to a work of this time in which more power is concentrated, in which there is more simplicity of tone or more sobriety or appropriateness of action. Nor is it without renewed surprise that we look at the skilful modelling of the figures relieved by tone upon the silver ground of the halo behind them, or on the broad and massive touches with which this modelling is produced; and were it not that time and accidents have caused a marked deterioration in the surface of the canvas, one might compare the figures for studied grandeur and force of design to those of Michaelangelo, and the movement and draperies for fitness and flow to those of Fra Bartolommeo. Here, it is evident, Titian was not painting for the Prince of Spain, for whose taste and

judgment he might possibly feel but small respect. Here Titian was painting for the satisfaction of his own feeling as an artist, and so it happens that his picture is better and more successful than those produced to order for king and kaiser.*

Charles the Fifth received the "Trinity and the grieving Virgin" not without pleasure, but his letter being apparently a mere compliment, had only induced Titian to press anew and with increased persistency his claims on the Lombard and Neapolitan treasuries.† He had sent Orazio to Milan with letters from himself and Aretino to Gio Battista Castaldo, hoping that these and a judicious present of a picture might soften the obduracy of the Milanese administration; but little arts of this kind had proved altogether ineffectual, and nothing had come of them except repeated disappointment.‡

* Dr. Francesco Beltrame wrote some illustrative notes on this picture when it was taken, about the year 1862, to be restored by Professor Paolo Fabris, to Venice. These notes were published in five folio pages in August, 1862, and contain the letter to Guglielmo Gonzaga, which will be found in the Appendix to this Volume. They further explain the cause of the damage done to the piece, which was produced by its concealment in a tomb during the French revolution. Here the canvas rotted, and the colours were to some extent corroded, and Professor Fabris did not restore them with any great success. The blue mantle of the kneeling Virgin, for instance, has turned to a dull opaque tone not unlike black; and much of the rest has been flayed and thrown out of focus. The size of the work is m. 2·76 h. by 1·98. According to the local tradition of Medole, Titian fell sick at the house of the "parroco," his nephew, and rewarded him for his attention with this picture.

† The original letter, without date, from Titian to Charles the Fifth, is in Ticozzi's Vecelli (p. 310). It gives the Emperor thanks for kind expressions as to the Virgin "addolorata."

‡ Compare Aretino to G. B. Castaldo, in Lettere di M. P. Aretino, vi. p. 264. Titian to G.

In the meanwhile new and not unimportant labours had been offered to Titian in Venice. The Doge Trevisani, having passed away on the 31st of May, 1554, in the quiet and unobtrusive manner which has already been recorded, had been succeeded by Francesco Venier, who called on Titian soon after, not only to paint his likeness, but to compose the necessary votive picture in honour of his predecessor. The portrait of Venier was finished early in 1555, and paid out of the treasury of the Salt Office in the month of March. It was the last portrait which then found a place in the Hall of Great Council. It was also the last that Titian undertook in his official capacity, the two Doges, Lorenzo and Girolamo Priuli, having relieved him of the duty in favour of Girolamo di Titiano and Tintoretto.* On the 19th of August, 1554, Titian was called to the Ducal Palace, where he signed a contract in the presence of the Doge and the *proveditore* of the Salt Office to paint within a year from the first day of the following September a canvas representing Marc-Antonio Trevisani in state robes kneeling before the Virgin and Child and attended by St. Mark, St. Anthony, St. Dominick,

B. Castaldo, in Nuova Scelta di Lettere di diversi, 4to, Ven. 1574, and reprinted in Ticozzi's Bottari, vol. v. p. 59.

* The payment, dated March 7, is printed by Lorenzi, *u. s.*, p. 288. See also the record in the same volume as to Girolamo and Tintoretto, who were Titian's successors, and Vasari, xiii. 27–8. See further, an order of April 13, 1545, in which the Council of Ten declares: "1°. That there are but three spaces left for Doges' portraits in the Hall of Great Council; 2°. That space is to be found for Doges' portraits in the new library." Another order of 1545, June 9, orders that the friezes in the old library be removed to make room for the series of new Doges. Lorenzi, *u. s.*, pp. 252–3.

and St. Francis. The contract provided that payments should be made in instalments to the full amount of 171 ducats and 12 soldi, but that a fine should be imposed on Titian if alive, or if he should die, on his heirs in case the picture should not have been finished at the appointed time. The deed being subject to confirmation by the Doge in Council was balloted on the 5th of September and lost; balloted and lost again on the 28th of the same month. And the composition was nearly complete before the sages thought of taking a resolution in respect of it. At last, on the 7th of January, 1555, a decree was passed ordering a valuation, and, pending that formality, an advance of 50 ducats was made. Long after the canvas was hung in a splendid frame above the door of the Pregadi Hall, the payment for it remained unliquidated.* In the meantime, Venier, apparently the most unselfish of men, was not content to contribute to immortalize his immediate predecessor, but recollecting that a Doge long since dead, whose offences had been condoned by his contemporaries, was still without his share of the usual tributary honour, resolved that a monument should be set up to his memory of equal value to those which had been dedicated to his compeers. He therefore proposed and carried an order in Council by which Titian was charged to paint a votive picture of Antonio Grimani. The order was issued to the master on the 22nd of

* The records are in Lorenzi, pp. 285, 287, & 292. The final payment of 171,12 was made in January, 1556. Both this picture and the portrait of Venier perished in the fire of 1577.

March. As early as the following July he had made such rapid progress that an advance of 50 ducats was granted.* But then some sudden blight fell upon the whole undertaking. The canvas was left in the painter's hands, and during his lifetime was never exhibited. And it is related that the disciples after Titian's death finished and placed it where it now hangs in the Hall of the Public Palace, known as the Sala de' Quattro Porte. It is the more curious that this mishap should have occurred, as the "Fede" deserves to rank amongst the most magnificent and effective palatial pieces that Titian composed in his later years. Nor is there a single work of the artist which more fully confirms contemporary accounts of his style. "Titian's later creations," says Vasari, "are struck off rapidly with strokes and with touch so that when close you cannot see them, but afar they look perfect, and this is the style which so many tried to imitate to show that they were practised hands, but only produced absurdities. The cause is explained by this, that though many think the work is flung off without trouble, it is not so. For, on the contrary, it is done and redone with great pains, as any one can see who looks into it, and this method is full of judgment, and equally fine and stupendous, as it gives life to the picture and displays the art whilst it conceals the means." †

It is possible that the form given by Titian to the subject was considered likely to offend religious or

* Lorenzi, *u. s.*, pp. 289–90. † Vasari, xiii. 39, 40.

political prejudice. Grimani is represented kneeling on a cushion, his head in profile, and raised to look up at a vision. His body, arms, and thighs are clad in steel, whilst his shoulders are decked with the mantle of the Doge. He kneels to the right, before a bright apparition of a female, whose long loose hair and white dress float as it were in a balmy breeze as she stands erect on a cloud surrounded by angels and cherubs supporting the cross and the cup. A page, in a flowered tabard, to the right of Grimani holds up to him the ducal cap. A helmeted soldier behind grasps a partisan and bends obsequiously. A captain in the foreground, in a green scale-jacket and yellow buskins, stands in an attitude of proud strength, one hand on his haunch, another supporting a standard. To the left, St. Mark in red tunic and blue mantle, with the lion couchant at his side, is placed in a fine movement, turning from the leaves of his book to look at the vision. Beneath the clouds which curl under the latter, a distance is seen showing the Venetian fleet at anchor, and the ducal palace and campanile. That this after all is nothing else than Grimani's life condensed into an allegory is clear. Defeat, captivity, and exile, symbolised by the cup and cross, human trials condoned through the intercession of St. Mark; this may seem the burden of the picture, which as such might perhaps justify certain contemporary misgivings. Be this as it may, the sages of a later generation were content to think that the multitude would accept the vision as an allegory of faith, and so they displayed, so explained it. In itself imposing, the

composition is made still more impressive by the grandeur of the figures which give a supernatural air to the scene. The female in the clouds, antique in form and drapery, antique in force and elegance of attitude, is hardly less effective in her way than the angel in Raphael's "Liberation of St. Peter." The tall cross which she supports is made light to her by charming boy angels, one of whom raises the foot, the other the arm, whilst a third sports without occupation in the air to the left. A beautiful circle of winged cherubs' heads floats in the halo around. Equally effective in a different but sterner key, St. Mark stands out in coloured strength and splendid robing against the radiant mist, his head admirably thrown back and foreshortened. Brilliant is the flight of pillars in perspective with ornaments of statues, gorgeous the red hanging that falls behind the group on the right, splendid the gloom on the red and white marble of the floor, which forms the foreground. Nature itself is reproduced in the flesh, the colours are full of a surprising richness and variety of harmonic contrasts. In grand divisions the light of the halo is pitted against the darker ground and its occupants, whilst the breadth of deep shadow projections is broken by sharp bursts of light of the most varied quality, according as they are shown in armour or in stuffs of diverse texture. That Marco Vecelli should have had a hand in this piece is only conceivable on the supposition that he added the two figures of a prophet and a standard bearer at the sides of the main composition. But these are mere fillings of

empty spaces which make no change in Titian's original picture.*

In the midst of these important labours, which more than ever tied him down to his residence in Venice, Titian married his only daughter to Cornelio Sarcinelli of Serravalle, and the marriage settlement, which still exists, was signed on the 20th of March 1555. The dowry which Lavinia brought to her husband was not worth less than 1400 ducats, a regal sum for a painter to have amassed who complained that he never was paid by his royal and imperial patrons; 600 ducats of this amount were given to the bridegroom in June, and the rest was transmitted to him in money and jewels in September of the following year. The wedding took place on the 19th of June, the day on which Lorenzo Priuli was elected to succeed Francesco Venier as Doge of Venice.†

In March of this year, Titian had written to Philip the Second to announce that pictures were ready for despatch, if he chose to send word whither they should be directed. Philip replied with a letter of thanks on

* Boschini, *u. s.*, R. Min. S. di S. Marco, p. 10, distinctly states that all that Marco Vecelli did was to make these additions. The picture itself contains figures of life size, which unhappily have been subjected to more than one ordeal of restoring. The remarks in the text are naturally subject to this drawback. But though we miss some of the original *brio*, and have to take up with colour reduced in parts to a dull opacity, the whole piece is still very grand. Photograph by Naya. Compare Tizianello's Anon°, p. 8; Ridolfi's Maraviglie, i. p. 269; and Zanetti, *u. s.*, p. 164. According to the Anonimo this picture was in the "Anticollegio," and Zanetti thinks that after the fire of 1577 it was taken from thence and placed in its present position, when the necessities of the space forced Marco Vecelli to introduce the side figures.

† The marriage settlement is in Appendix.

the 4th of May, gently rebuking the painter for not telling him the subjects which he had prepared, but anxious to receive them whatever they might be. We may well believe that one of them was the "Perseus and Andromeda," of which Vasari relates that it was a beautiful work representing the princess of Ethiopia bound to the rock and Perseus appearing to save her from the sea monster.* The monarch's letter concluded with a request that Titian should inform him whether his claims had been finally settled, as he meant, if they were still pending, to cause special instructions to be sent to the Duke of Alva. He wrote at the same time to Vargas to pack Titian's canvases most carefully and send them to Brussels, where the sooner he received them the better he should be pleased.†

The high and acknowledged position held by Titian at this period is proved, not only by his being absolved from the duty of painting the ducal portraits without losing his broker's patent, but by an honourable commission entrusted to him by the Venetian government. Sansovino had finished the hall of the library of St. Mark in 1553,‡ and the ceiling of that beautiful

* Vasari, xiii. p. 29, and see *antea*, p. 237. This picture was engraved by F. Berteli and Battista Fontana, and by Cort, in 1565, Andromeda being fastened to the rock on the left; in the middle Perseus attacking the monster in the background; to the left a town. "Perseus and Andromeda, by Titian," was in the Orleans Gallery; the same, perhaps, which Lépicié catalogued in 1752 at the Louvre.

† See Philip to Titian, and Vargas, May 4, 1556, in Appendix.

‡ See the inscription to that effect above the entrance to the hall, and a copy of the same in Sansovino's Ven. Desc. *u. s.*, p. 311.

room had been divided into compartments for the reception of frescos a short time after. It was now suggested by the *procuratori* that Titian and Sansovino should name the artists whom they thought best fitted to carry out a decoration of such importance, on condition that the price to be paid to each man for his work should not exceed sixty ducats; but with a promise that the painter who most distinguished himself should receive a gold chain of honour as a mark of special approbation. Neglecting Tintoretto, with whom the "Academy" was not on good terms, Titian and his colleague asked Salviati, Paolo Veronese, Zelotti, Franco, Schiavone and other men of less ability, to compete, and when their labours were concluded in the autumn of 1556, they awarded the prize to Paolo Veronese, whose descendants long preserved the gold chain as a proof of pictorial distinction.*

Paolo Veronese, who had the rare good luck to win thus early a prominent place amongst Venetian artists, had not been long in the capital when this event occurred. Born at Verona in 1528, and bred to the art of sculpture, of which his father was but an obscure professor, he soon gave up chisel and hammer for the use of the brush, and exercised his skill as a vagrant craftsman, at Mantua, Padua and Vicenza. It seemed as if in the practice of fresco or in the production of large canvases he had never been able to forget the paternal business, for early and late he

* The records as to this competition are in part in Zanetti, Pitt. Ven., *u. s.*, p. 337. But comp. Vas. xi. 138 & 330, with Ridolfi, Mar. ii. pp. 17 and 192.

wielded the brush more like a modeller's *spatula* than a painter's tool. But his talent was naturally so great that he made rapid progress, and the name which he acquired for himself in the provinces probably encouraged him to try his fortunes in the metropolis. He went to Venice about 1555, and there was fortunate to find a patron in his countryman, Fra Bernardo Torlioni; abbot of the monastery of San Sebastian. Titian soon discerned and rewarded the skill of the young fellow, but he did not hesitate to enter the lists with him in person, and we shall find him presently composing an allegory in the same locality in which Paul had first introduced himself officially to the Venetians, and in the calm retirement of his atelier, producing that fine and standard work "The Baptist in the Desert," which, after adorning for centuries an altar in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, now hangs in the Academy of Venice. It is not without reason that Vasari and Dolce praise this fine creation as a marvel of design and colour.* No picture of the master gives note, as this does, of the power with which Titian could set the example to his young competitor in the conception and execution of form, realistic in shape and presented in a plastic spirit. As a solitary figure this Baptist embodies all the principles of movement inculcated in this 16th century. It is a splendid display of muscular strength and elasticity combined with elevation in a frame of

* Vasari, xiii. p. 27. Dolce, Dialogo, p. 66. The allusion of the latter author to this picture shows that it was painted before 1557, the year in which the Dialogo was published.

most powerful build. It hardly differs from other Titianesque works except in this, that being painted with the master's usual force and fire, it is distinguished at the same time by more than the usual study of anatomy and outline, and a more sculptural definition of parts. If we look back to the earlier ideal of St. John in the schools of North Italy, asceticism is represented in the solitary by wild looks, sharp features, unkempt hair, and a lean wiry body. Here the Baptist is trained, indeed, but brought down to a symmetry of strength, which is grand in its development. The black, curly hair and beard, are as surely indicative of toughness and fibre, as the sculptured brow and bold black eye, which looks sternly out into space as if scanning the audience that has heard or is about to hear the sermon. Alone at the foot of a rock, where the lamb is coiled up and sleeps, the saint is seen standing at rest, yet not suggesting a motionless halt. In the hollow of his arm the reed cross reposes, whilst the wrist is bent and the fingers grasp the garment of skins. The right hand is raised and gesticulating as if to enforce the word. The whole appearance is that of a weird inhabitant of the wilderness, whose naked breast and legs are shown brightly against the trees and grasses of a vale, through which a torrent flows after having spent its force in the hills that show their blue sides far away. Impassioned expression is enhanced by rich weather-browned features and flesh, thrown into prominence by strong relief of lights glowing and coloured, into darks of a brown and consistent warmth.

More than ever before, planes of flesh are rendered by kneading out of solid pigment, only broken by reds, greys or blacks, where the monotony of blended surface made such breaks desirable. The same art reappears, as we shall presently see, with almost equal effect in the "Diana and Calisto," the "Diana and Actæon," and the "Europa," which Titian painted for Philip of Spain. A later form is apparent in a replica of the Baptist at the Escorial.*

On the 21st of October, 1556, an event took place which probably affected Titian greatly. Late in the evening of that day Aretino was supping with some acquaintances, when an accident deprived him of his life. The certificate drawn up after his death declared

* This picture, on canvas, m. 1·97 h. by 1·33, is numbered 366 in the Venice Academy. It was noted in S. M. Maggiore, at Venice, by all the writers on art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is well preserved, and signed on the stone upon which the left foot is raised, "TICIANVS." The rock near the saint's right hand, and bits of the sky, show traces of restoring. There are certain turns, as in the hand and wrist of the saint, which recur in Paolo Veronese. Even the head is a type to which Paolo clung.

The replica in the sacristy of the Escorial varies in so far that the hands hold a scroll, and the face is thrown up as if in supplication. On the stone one reads, "TITIANVS FACI . . . ." But the picture when seen was ill-lighted, looked dim from age, and might have suggested criticism if better exposed. How it came into the Escorial is not stated.

The same saint "in the desert" was noted in the collection of Niccolo Cornaro at Venice, by Martinioni. See his edition of Sansovino, Ven. desc., *u. s.*, p. 374.

The canvas at Venice was engraved by V. Le Fèbre, and in the work of Patina, in 1809, by Cipriani. It is reversed in a print of Jacob Hæden. Photograph by Naya.

A small replica, called "A sketch of the St. John Baptist," was long preserved as a work of Titian in Casa Jacobi at Cadore. It passed in the present century to Signor Galeazzo Galeazzi, of Venice. (Notes from Jacobi MS. of Cadore.)

that he died of apoplexy "at three of the night."* But it was reported that he had been sitting at table in his palace on the grand canal, when a joke was made by one of the guests at which he laughed immoderately. In this fit of laughter he overbalanced himself, fell back, and striking his head against a corner, was dead almost immediately.† An anecdote makes him live to receive supreme unction and utter the blasphemous words: "now that I am oiled keep me from the rats."‡ Titian probably lamented the loss of a man with whom he had been on terms of intimacy for more than thirty years. The outer world rejoiced rather than mourned at his departure, and Antonio Pola, a creature of Ferrante Gonzaga, who had flattered him when he lived, was obviously delighted at his death when he wrote to his master in November: "On reaching Venice I found that that *mascarone* Aretino had given up his soul to Satan, whose death I think will not displease many, and particularly not those who are from henceforth relieved from paying tribute to the brute."§

Pola's visit to the capital was not accidental, he was travelling in the wake of Ferrante Gonzaga, who had recently passed through Venice on his way to Milan,

* See Bongi, Vita del Doni, 8vo, Lucca, 1852, p. lxviii.

† Lorenzini, "De Risu," in Mazzucchelli, *u. s.*, p. 71.

‡ Mazzucchelli, p. 73.

§ Antonio Pola to Ferrante Gonzaga, Nov. 14, 1556, in Ronchini. Relazioni, *u. s.*, p. 13; and Aretino to Pola, August, 1554, in Lett. di M. P. A., vi. p. 253. Here we take leave of Aretino, and we do so with regret, since however bad he may have been as a man, his letters are an invaluable guide to the historian of art in the first half of the sixteenth century.

and he had special commission, as it appeared, to inquire into the cause of certain marks of incivility which Titian was alleged to have shown to his master. The letter, of which a fragment has been given, was written to excuse Titian's conduct. Ferrante complained that having sent word to Titian that he would dine with him, the painter had purposely left his house and allowed him to come to Biri Grande, where he found neither host nor hospitality. Titian explained that he had been informed through Arctino that his Excellency intended to dine with him, and had given orders that the dinner should be prepared by his own servants. But on the appointed day no servants came, and Titian, thinking that the visit was postponed, went out on business. "Be this as it may," Pola concludes, "I propose to advance half a hundred scudi to Titian to purchase the pictures which your Excellency desires to have from this discourteous man."*

It was perhaps in consequence of this slight, which may, or may not, have been intentional, that when Titian sent Orazio in the following summer to Milan to draw the pension that still remained unpaid, he was again put off with promises. And this new disappointment must have been the more disheartening, as a letter, obscure in some parts, but of interest as throwing a gleam over the relations of the master to his son and to Philip the Second, gave hopes of a more favourable issue.

* Pola to Ferrante Gonzaga, *u. s.*

TITIAN TO ORAZIO VECELLI.

"Horatio, your delay in writing gave me some uneasiness. Your letter says you have had four ducats, but that would not cover your expenses to Milan" (the text of the foregoing sentence is very confused). "Again, you make a slip of the pen for mere joy, it would seem, when you write of two hundred, instead of two thousand ducats. But it is sufficient that you should think that things will take a good course. I wrote to his Majesty that the Treasury of Genoa had not the means of paying, and I hope his Majesty will make the necessary provision. What you write inclines me to think you intend to proceed to Genoa. If you fancy the journey will be fruitful of results . . . . of which you are a better judge than I am, you may do well to undertake it. But if you go be careful not to ride in the heat and see that you take four days to the usual two days' ride. . . . .

"*From* VENICE, *June* 17, 1557." *

We shall see that, during these fruitless journeys, Titian had been preparing for Philip the Second a picture of the "Entombment," which he despatched in November, but which by some miscarriage of the post,

* Translated from the original, which in 1866 was in possession of Mr. Rudolph Weigel, at Leipzig. Mr. Weigel had got it from G. B. Bragadin, of Venice, who caused it to be printed, in 1841, in Gualandi's Memorie, *u. s.*, ii. 102–3.

then as now in the hands of the family of Tassis, never reached its destination.*

Early in the year too Titian relented towards his eldest son and induced the pope's legate at Venice, Cardinal Trivulzi, to sign a breve giving him the curacy of Sant' Andrea del Fabbro free of tithes.†

* See Philip the Second to Count de Luna, January 20, 1559, in Appendix.

† The breve is in Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, p. 39.

CHAPTER VII.

Standard of San Bernardino.—Philip and St. Lawrence.—"Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" in the Gesuiti at Venice.—Girolamo di Titiano.—Lorenzo Massolo; his Widow and Titian.—Parody on the "Laocoon," "Christ crowned with Thorns" at the Louvre.—Portraits.—Death of Charles the Fifth.—Titian and Coxie.—The "Grieving Virgin."—Philip at Ghent orders Titian's Pensions to be paid.—Orazio at Milan is nearly murdered by Leone Leoni.—Titian begins the "Diana and Actæon," and "Diana and Calisto."—Philip the Second orders an "Entombment."—Titian, Philip, and Apelles.—The "Girl in Yellow."—Description of the "Diana and Actæon," "Calisto," "Entombment," and replicas.—Figure of "Wisdom" at Venice.—Death of Francesco Vecelli.—Altar-piece of Pieve.

NOTHING eventful occurred to Titian in 1558, during which Venetian annals record the completion of a church standard, on the 11th of June, for the brotherhood of San Bernardino,* but a man of his activity would not allow the time to pass in idleness, and the silence of chroniclers invites us to inquire what Titian may have done in this apparently uneventful time.

On the 9th of August, 1557, "the memorable day of St. Lawrence," when Counts Egmont and Hoorn won the battle of St. Quentin for Philip the Second, that monarch vowed to build a monastery in honour of the Saint to whom he ascribed the victory. Not

* See the record in Appendix.

till 1563, however, and when fresh from some *auto da fè* in which unhappy Protestants had undergone the ordeal inflicted on St. Lawrence, did Philip find leisure to fulfil his vow; and not till 1564 did it occur to him to ask Titian for a picture of the "Signor Sant' Lorencio" to adorn the spacious church of the Escorial.* The subject was not new at Venice. Garcia Hernandez reported to the minister, Antonio Perez, in October, 1564, that there was a martyrdom of St. Lawrence in a Venetian monastery, which Titian had composed years before, and for which the brethren were willing to take 200 scudi. His Majesty might even for less money have a copy of this piece by Girolamo Titiano, an assistant who had worked for thirty years in Titian's house, and was inferior to no artist except his master.† The Crociferi, whose hospital contained this treasure, were cenobites devoted to the worship of the true cross discovered by the Empress Helen. Their monastery had often been *in commendam*, and this had not improved the character of the inmates, whom the Venetian government had frequently threatened to suppress, but the church was richly adorned with masterpieces of many periods, from the days of Cima, Mansueti, and Lattanzio da Rimini, to those of Titian, Schiavone, and Tintoretto. Early in 1556 Lorenzo Massolo, son-in-law to Girolamo Quirini, having paid the usual tribute to nature, was buried in the church of the Crociferi, and Elisabeth Quirini, his

* Philip the Second to Garcia Hernandez at Venice, Aug. 31, 1564, in Appendix.

† Garcia Hernandez to Antonio Perez, from Venice, Oct. 9, 1564, in Appendix.

widow, mindful of her old friendship for Titian, asked him to adorn a monument with a martyrdom of her husband's patron saint.* The date of the patrician's death and the time required for the erection of his tomb, Titian's habitual procrastination, and above all, the character of the painting, may lead us to believe that the work was finished about 1558.

For once in his life it had occurred to Titian to realize a night-scene, and surely it must have struck him that more startling effects were to be obtained from the contrast of a glory at midnight, with furnace-fires and the glare of torches, than from combinations of halo and flames at noon. This too was a fit occasion for reviving classic ideals in Pagan statues and temple porticos, and there is some evidence that the subject of this martyrdom recalled to Titian's mind, not only the sculpture and statuary of early Rome, but the very sites which he had visited in the Eternal City, whilst—naturally allied to these—reminiscences of masterpieces by Raphael and Michael-angelo would easily suggest themselves. The idea of cremation, familiar to the Romans as practised on the corpses of the dead, is here applied to a living body, and the saint, naked in all parts but the hips, is held with his legs towards the spectator on an iron frame standing on twelve legs at an angle to the plane of delineation. Under this framework, which in effect is a gigantic gridiron, a man who stoops to the left feeds the flames with logs, a bundle of which is carried

* The epitaph which fixes the dates of Massolo's burial and the erection of his monument, is in Sansovino's Ven. desc., p. 169.

by a servant close at hand. Behind, an executioner grasps the saint under the armpits, whilst a soldier in scale shoulder-plates to the right, pins him with a fork to the grating. Two men crouching near the soldier are preparing to strike the martyr with their hands, as he, raising his arm and throwing back his head, looks up at the heavens, which open to give him assurance of salvation in the world to come. In rear of these scoffers a man at arms is standing, who holds a lance, whilst an officer on horseback supports the standard of the Empire, and looks down at the dying saint. The group is partly lighted by the fire kindled under the grating, and a cage-torch, the pole of which is stuck in a ring fastened to the carved shaft of a pedestal supporting a statue. But the black clouds in the arching of the canvas open to show a dazzling star, which casts a bright gleam downwards on the head and frame of the sufferer, and lights the steps leading up to a temple on which three spectators have met, whilst a soldier issuing from the pillars throws himself forward with a torch to dispel some more of the gloom. There are marvellous oppositions here of red and silver light, of greys of varying tone, of heavy gloom and rolling smoke. Too dark even in the seventeenth century to be seen in all its details, this most important and interesting creation was subsequently covered with daubs of paint, which now conceal much of the primitive workmanship, but it is something to be able to study in its original place a picture which preserved its station even after the Crociferi had yielded to the more modern company of

the Jesuits. The subject, and the effects that are conditional upon it, recall those which Piero della Francesca, some hundred years earlier, produced with such marked preference in various places, one of which was repeated by Raphael in the rooms of the Vatican. We prize in Raphael's masterpiece a noble simplicity of arrangement, measured action, and elevated form, admirable drapery, and majestic balance of light and shade. Titian is not less effective than his Umbrian rival. He never made a nearer approach to the grand art of the Florentines than when he painted this piece, in which he applied the principle of dramatic execution peculiar to Michaelangelo. With more of the real and human than Raphael, he attains his end by an exuberant display of movement in shapes instinct with life and stamped with emotions developing themselves instantly into strong expression and action. Not less effective than Raphael in adjusting contrasts of light and gloom, he obtains them in a more complex way and by a more varied play of gleam with colour. Hardly less powerful than Buonarroti, his definition of torso and limb in states of tension is looser, but still in its way grand and imposing. We may indeed perceive on close examination that if Sebastian del Piombo perfected pictures laid down on the lines of Michaelangelo, without giving them that sublime energy which characterised the Florentine master, Titian, with undeniable originality, almost attained to a grandeur of composition and bold creativeness equal to those of Buonarroti, whilst he added to his creations that which was essentially his own—the magic play of

tints and lights and shadows which mark the true Venetian craftsman. St. Lawrence, in build, in muscular strength, and foreshortening, as we see him at the Gesuiti, recalls the finest designs of the Sixtine chapel, and it may well be that the marvellous figures of that chapel clung involuntarily to Titian's memory as he conceived his own, just as they clung to him when he painted the "Peter Martyr" and the "Battle of Cadore." But in all these pictures, and in the mode of their presentment, he still preserved an individuality as unmistakable as it is grand and striking. Recollections of the Eternal City no doubt surged up in Titian's mind when he drew in that noble temple front which reminds us so vividly of the "portico of the Argonauts," in the Piazza di Pietra, at Rome, yet what majestic beauty was added to the lines of the noble flight of steps leading up to them. The treatment, peculiar to this period of Titian's art, is that in which touch and surface were all in all. Destroying hands of time and restorers have removed much of both, yet left enough to show how touch and breadth did not preclude excellent modelling and accurate study of the human form.*

* Scanelli, in the seventeenth century (Microcosmo, p. 215), noted the dimness of this picture, which was only to be understood by Cort's print. Since then it has undergone several courses of repairing, one quite modern, which has done much to make earlier injuries irreparable. The picture is on canvas, arched at top, with figures over life size, and stands on the first altar to the left after entering the portal of the Gesuiti at Venice. Sir Joshua says (Leslie and Taylor, *u. s.*, i. 83): "It is so dark a picture, that at first casting my eyes on it I thought there was a black curtain before it." On the edge of the grate, TITIANVS VECELIVS

Titian at this time was obviously much occupied in refreshing his memory with references to the antique. He could get something like burlesque out of it, as we see in Boldrini's print, where three monkeys are shown writhing under the coils of snakes like Laocoon and his children in the celebrated Roman group; but the study of that remarkable piece was not confined to drawings. It showed itself in serious works, such as the "Christ crowned with Thorns," now at the Louvre, where the movement of the principal figure, though inverted, reminds us of Laocoon, whilst the suffering displayed seems derived from the same source. This characteristic and clever picture, transported—we may think—to Milan when Orazio went there in 1559 to claim the pension of his father,* is painted in a style which stamps it as a contemporary of the "St. Lawrence." It came to adorn the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and was not removed to France till the beginning of this century. Here we have the classic action united to great agony and muscular contraction. Christ is struggling on the steps of the prison, the gateway of which is surmounted by a bust of Tiberius. His legs and frame are twisted by pain in contrary directions. The head, on which two men with long reeds are pressing the crown of thorns, is bent and turned to the left, the torso inclining to the right, whilst the arms, which are bound at the

ÆQVES F. On a print by Sadeler we read, TITIANVS INVEN. ÆQVES OPVS. A later print exists by Jan Bussemaker; a line engraving by Zuliani. Palma Giovine copied the picture in 1559. (Baldinucci, Opere, x. 11.)

* See *postea*.

CHRIST IN THE PRETORIAN COURT.

[*To face p* 265, *Vol. II.*

wrist, are forcibly held by a kneeling soldier on the foreground. The scarlet mantle thrown in derision over the frame leaves the limbs entirely bare, and in the working and tension of muscle apparent in these, as well as in the convulsive strain of the features, the triumph of physical torture is delineated. Equally robust, but not more resolute in action, his motion being shown as much by flap of drapery as by stride, the man on the left who jerks the crown on the Saviour's forehead, is a model of herculean strength in a moment of strong exertion. In his desire to realise emotion altogether human, Titian has apparently forgotten the divine. He has forgotten the select shapes and conventional ideals of expression and form peculiar to the antique. He is realistic almost to the verge of a disagreeable coarseness—particularly so in details of hand, foot, and ancle. Yet there is something so grand in the life and energy exhibited, and a minuteness of study so profound in the shrinking of the features and the clinging of the toes of Christ to the ground, that one almost forgets to inquire how it is that an artist so thoroughly acquainted with the classic as Titian was should altogether neglect to apply its cardinal principles. The very *furia* which characterises the action is traceable to the artist himself, who seems to have worked off the contours with dash and force, whilst he touched in the flesh with a stroke of surprising breadth and sweep. Strangely enough, though warm and golden in general tone, the picture has less variety and more uniformity of colour than usual,

either because the surface of the panel on which the figures were thrown gave less opportunity for variety of graining and toning, or because, fresh from a night scene like the St. Lawrence, where greys and blacks were copiously applied, these shades predominated on the palet. Dash and eagerness are equally apparent in abrupt contrasts of light with deep bituminous shadows which give to the whole piece, in some respects, the look of a monochrome but partially brought up to the colour of nature.*

Memorable for such creations as these, if our pictorial instinct is correct as to the date of production, the year 1558 is equally so for some very fine portraits. A likeness in half length of Marc Antonio Rezzonico in the hospital of Milan may repel us, since cleaning and repairing deprived it of original character.† But "Fabricio Salvaresio" at the Belvedere

* No. 464 at the Louvre, on panel, m. 3.03 h. by 1.80. The figures are large as life; on one of the steps we read, "TITIANVS, F." There are engravings of this piece by Luigi Scaramucci, V. Lefèbre, Gotfr. Sayter, Ribault, and Massieu, in Filhol and Landon's Series. Another version of the composition, of which a word later, is in the Munich Gallery. Compare Vasari, xiii. 40.

The panel has been restored, so as to impart a certain heaviness to the surface and dimness to the shadows. The name of the painter is one of the details that have been retouched or added.

† This portrait is that of a man in a black dress with yellow sleeves standing in a room, and seen to the thigh. With the right hand he points at some object, whilst his left rests on his hip and holds a glove. On the plinth of a pillar to the left we read, "Marco Antonio Rezzonico morto ai 29 Maggio, 1584; Tiziano Vecellio fece in Vinezia nel 1558." Though modern as compared with the painting itself, this inscription is probably historical. For we find in the Guida Storico-artistica dell' Ospitale Maggiore in Milano (8vo, 1857, Tip. di Pietro Agnelli), that Rezzonico was one of the deputation of the hospital in 1575, and at his death in 1584 left the picture to the foundation of which he was a benefactor.

in Vienna, shows us a fine and expressive representation of a man embrowned by travel, and familiar, it might seem, with the East, from whence perhaps he brought the negro boy who stands before him and holds a bunch of flowers.*

But the masterpiece of portraiture of this time is the "Lavinia" of the Dresden Museum, the semblance of a lady of mature years standing in a room and waving a fan of plumes. In state dress of green velvet cut square at the bosom and slashed at the shoulder puffs with white silk, she turns slightly to the left, raising the hand with the fan, and with her left tucking up the skirt of her gown. Scanty chestnut locks are strewed with pearls. A pearl necklace winds round her plump neck. She wears a jewelled brooch, a ring, and a girdle of shells. On a tablet in the upper corner of the canvas are the

* This is also a portrait in half-length, on a brown ground, No. 15, in the 3rd room of the ground floor, Italian schools, at the Belvedere. Size, 3 ft. 8 h. by 2 ft. 8, on canvas, with the following inscription on a tablet in the upper corner to the left: "MDLVIII, FABRICIVS SALVARESIVS ANNŌ AGENS L. TITIANI OPVS." Painted on a coarse canvas, this piece is much impaired by retouching, but is a good bit of energetic treatment. Salvaresius stands with the thumb of his right hand in a figured shawl wound round his waist. His dress is a black cap, vest, and pelisse, the latter lined with white lamb's wool. A knife hangs in a sheath at his side. In the angle of the canvas to the right is the profile of a negro boy looking up. His arm, encased in yellow damask, is stretched out, and he holds in his hand a bunch of flowers. On a console above the boy's head a rich green cloth is lying, and behind it is a clock. Pity that the flesh should have acquired a brick-red opaqueness. The negro is so completely renewed as to leave us in doubt whether any part of him is now by Titian. It is curious that the print in Teniers' Gallery work which shows that the picture belonged to the Archduke Leopold William, omits the negro boy. The hand of Salvaresius is the part best preserved.

words: "LAVINIA TIT. V. F AB' EO P." which has been interpreted to mean, and no doubt was intended to convey, that Lavinia the daughter of Titian was portrayed by her father. A cicerone or guide showing the picture might have expressed himself in the words of this inscription. Titian would have written *ipso* and not *eo*. But the lines are of much later date than the time of Titian, who neither wrote his name in this fashion nor habitually finished his capitals with cross strokes. The words were scrawled over the background after one of its numerous restorings, and the pigment has settled into the older cracks. It is not a question whether the work is genuine, for Titian's hand at its best is very apparent. It is a question whether we have Titian's daughter before us, the features being essentially different from those traditionally known as Lavinia's, whilst they curiously resemble those of Venus listening to the whispering Cupid at the Uffizi in Florence. As a representation of a richly developed form in gorgeous habiliments this is a masterpiece. The face is vigorously painted and modelled with breadth, whilst blended in tone to a nicety. Fine transitions interpose between warm lights and brown tinged shadows. The eye sparkles and the mouth is full of a healthy redness. The features are cut with great delicacy, in spite of a certain pinguidity. The left arm, raised to wave the fan, the left lowered to clutch the dress, the swelling bust and portly waist, are given with the plastic force and grain which were so successfully imitated in later days by Paolo Veronese; and the

colours of the velvet, together with that of the muslin at the bosom and wrists and the hair and pearls, are all worked into harmony with the brown background so as to form a natural vision surrounded with atmosphere and instinct with life.*

Whilst he was busy with these and other pictures, Titian heard of the gradual decline, and at last of the death, on the 21st of September 1558, of the Emperor at Yuste.

Charles the Fifth was the greatest as well as the most powerful of all Titian's patrons. He had ordered the "Trinity" as a record of his intention to abdicate the throne. He took it to Yuste that he might more constantly be reminded of another and higher world than that in which he was wasting the last of his strength. Though he never ceased to direct from his Spanish solitude the weak and changing policy of Philip, there were moments when he turned altogether from the contemplation of public affairs to memories of the past or thoughts of his own salvation, and at these times his mind was disposed to tender recollection by Titian's portraits of those who had been most dear to him, or stimulated to prayer by sacred subjects in the representation of which Titian had had a share. It is characteristic of the Emperor's quaint love of contrast or variety in art that he

* This canvas, in the Dresden Museum, numbered 230, and of life size, was sold to the King of Saxony with the Modena collection. It was transferred to a new canvas in 1826. It has a scar on the forehead, and some stipplings on the face, particularly in shadow. The left hand is much inured by repainting. The background is renewed. Engraved by Basan.

caused two of the latest masterpieces of his favourite Italian to be framed with those of a Flemish artist. The "Ecce Homo," which Titian took to him in 1548, was combined in a diptych with a Pietà by Coxie. The "Addolorata" of 1554 was set in the same way with Coxie's "Effigy of Christ."* One canvas for which he had a particular devotion was a grieving Virgin which probably belonged to the batch of pictures presented to the Emperor on the memorable occasion when Titian pleaded Aretino's claims to a cardinal's hat. It was a beautiful piece, well worthy of preservation, and happily preserved at this time in the rooms of the Madrid Museum. Here the Virgin is seen in profile, her form clad in traditional red, her blue mantle—covering a white veil—lined with stuff of a deep yellow texture. In this simple array of colours we have the full complement of primaries which go to produce the true harmonic chord. The Virgin's thin and delicately chiselled face is overshadowed with melancholy, the hands are wrung together, and the eye-ball is directed towards the ground where we fancy the corpse of the Redeemer to lie or to be carried amidst mourning to the tomb. In none of his single figures has Titian ever shown more genuine feeling. We need but reverse the lines of the face and frame to have a counterpart of the agonized Mary in the "Entombment" of the Louvre. Agony is apparent in the eye and mouth as well as in the

* See the inventory of Brussels, 1556, in Gachard's Retraite et Mort de Charles V., *u. s.*, ii. 90–93; and that of Yuste by Juan de Regla and Gastelu in Stirling's Cloister Life of Charles V.

movement of the body and limbs and every articulation of the hands and fingers. Admirably blended and finished, the flesh is fresh and smooth as in life, and bears the closest inspection, whilst the draperies display in the most admirable manner the run of the contours and the shape beneath them.* Besides this fine and pathetic creation, Charles had close at hand a portrait of himself in armour, to which we may think he would look for the sake of contrasting the early strength of his youth with the debility of his premature old age; then the likeness of the Empress and himself in one canvas, and that of the Empress alone. At the last of these works of Titian he cast a long and fond glance almost on the verge of dissolution, and he only gave up its contemplation in order to turn to that of the "Last Judgment," upon which "he gazed so long as to cause apprehension to his physician."†

When the news of Charles's death reached Philip the Second at Ghent, he withdrew to the comparative solitude of the monastery of Groenendaele, where he remained secluded for several weeks. It was from the cloisters of this once celebrated retreat that he caused a despatch to be sent, on Christmas Day 1558

* This figure, a bust on panel in profile to the left, is No. 475, m. 0.68 h. by 0.61, in the Madrid Museum. It is noted in the Brussels and Yuste inventories, *u. s.*, and is fairly preserved, though not free from re-touching, especially in the head.

An old school copy of this piece hangs high up in the chapel of the Sacrament in San Zaccaria, at Venice. Another school copy, by a later hand, in the Oratory of San Gaetano at Padua. A photograph of the original by Laurent exists.

† Prescott, *u. s.*, 136.

to the governor of Milan, Duke of Sessa, ordering him to pay all arrears of the pensions "granted to Titian by Charles his father (now in glory)," adding a postscript in his own hand to show the interest which he felt personally for Titian and his claims.* Titian was made acquainted by the Duke with the terms of this despatch, and invited to Milan, but being too old to travel, sent his son to attend to his interests. Here Orazio put himself in communication with the Duke of Sessa and wrote—in March—that he had received letters from the governor for the Senate by means of which a settlement of accounts would speedily be made, and he hoped that the business would be finally transacted soon after Holy Week. From Milan, Orazio continued, he meant to proceed to Genoa, and with help of letters to the king's ambassador he thought that the pension due at that place would also be obtained.† Little did Orazio then foresee that events would happen which would make his journey to Genoa impossible. At the court of Milan there lived at this time Leone Aretino, a sculptor whose name has often appeared in these pages in connection with Titian. He was nearly related, though no one exactly knew how, to Pietro Aretino, and his interest had been used with Titian, and through Titian with the Emperor and the Granvelles, to push him on in the world. More violent in temper and certainly more cunning than Benvenuto Cellini, Leone had

* Despatch and postscript are in full in Ridolfi's Marav., i. 244–5.

† Orazio to Titian, March 19, 1559, in Cadorin's Dello Amore, *u. s.*, p. 46.

been placed under bann for homicide in several cities of the Peninsula; yet he had always found new friends wherever he settled. At Milan, where he was now a resident, he owned a palace and lived in some state with an establishment of horses and valets, and here he gave a hospitable reception to Orazio Vecelli, whom he fetched with an escort of riders from his rooms at the Falcon. Orazio, who had brought fourteen pieces with him from Venice, remained upwards of a month a guest in Leone's palace. He sold his pictures to the Duke of Sessa, and took sittings from that nobleman, for whom he painted a full-length portrait. As time went by he thought he should not tax the kindness of his host too long, and having commission to get the Duke's canvases framed, he took lodgings of his own and went on the 14th of June to Leone's house to superintend the removal of his property. Whilst occupied with this duty he was set upon by the host and his servants, who struck at him with daggers so suddenly as to put his life in imminent peril. Fortunately the first blow aimed by Leone in person had not been mortal. Orazio struggled, ran for the door, and reached the street with severe wounds. He was carried to the Falcon inn, where he was attended by the Duke of Sessa's barber, who gave him such restoratives that he was able on the following day to give evidence before a magistrate sent for that purpose. In answer to the question whether he could assign a cause to the assault, he could only say that he thought the murderer was envious of his favour with the governor. But in his subsequent

communications to Titian, and in a memorandum afterwards drawn up by his friends, he declared that Leone knew that he had received two thousand ducats of Titian's pension from the Milanese treasury, and meant to take his life and his money at the same time.* Titian wrote a long letter to Philip the Second on the 12th of July, accusing Leone of an attempt to murder and rob his son, and he asked for justice with pardonable expressions of indignation. But we do not read without surprise that the man whose hospitality Orazio had not disdained to accept, was now described by the angry Titian as a well-known criminal, who had been expelled from Spain because he was a Lutheran, condemned to the stake by the Duke of Ferrara on a charge of coining, and banished for attempted murder from the Roman and Venetian states.† Titian's appeal to Philip the Second was but partially heard. Leone, who had been arrested immediately after the crime, was let off with bann and fine, and Orazio lived for some years in secret fear of assassination, until the blood feud was condoned with a sum of money.‡

Some months before these events occurred, Philip the Second had written to the Duke of Luna from Brussels to make complaint that a large canvas of the "Entombment" despatched by Titian from Venice in

* See the depositions in Cadorin's Dello Amore, p. 50; the memorandum in the same author, p. 103.

† Titian to Philip the Second, July 12, 1559, in Appendix.

‡ Memorandum, *u. s.*, in Cadorin's Dello Amore. See also in the same work, p. 51, Orazio's petition to the Council of Ten, dated March 20, 1562, to be allowed to carry arms.

November 1557, and received shortly after at Trent by the postmaster De Tassis, had never reached its destination. He desired search to be made for the missing work, and gave directions for the discovery and punishment of the thieves.*

Three or four days after Leone's attempt on Orazio's life, but before news of it had reached Venice, Titian wrote to Philip the Second, alluding to the loss of the "Entombment" and announcing the completion of two compositions of "Diana and Actæon," and "Diana and Calisto."

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST POTENT CATHOLIC KING,

"I have already finished the two "poesies" intended for your majesty, one of Diana surprised by Actæon at the fountain, another of Calisto's weakness exposed by the nymphs at Diana's bidding. When your Majesty wishes to have them, nothing will be needed but to name the person to whom they should be sent, in order that no accident may occur as in the case of the 'Entombment,' which was lost on the road. I hope that if ever any things of mine have been thought worthy of favour, these will not be found unworthy. After their despatch I shall devote myself entirely to furnishing the 'Christ on the Mount,' and the other two poesies which I have already begun—I mean the 'Europa on the shoulders of the Bull,' and 'Actæon torn by his Hounds.' In these pieces I shall

* Philip the Second to Count de Luna, Jan. 20, 1559, in Appendix.

We see by this letter how anxious Titian was, even in his old age, to finish; and how true it is, as Vasari says, that pictures which seem to have been dashed off rapidly were really laboured so as *to look* as if they were executed quickly. Of interest in Garcia's letter is the allusion to Venetian glass, which was now manufactured with great delicacy and perfection in the factories of Murano, and exported to the most distant countries of Europe.

In September, after much filing and polishing of his pictures, Titian delivered them with the following letter to the King.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"I send your Majesty the 'Actæon,' 'Calisto,' and 'Christ in the Sepulchre,' in place of that which was lost on the way, and I rejoice that though larger, the last of these pictures has succeeded better than the first, and is more worthy of acceptance from your Majesty. I attribute this improvement in a great measure to the grief which I felt at the loss of the first example, which proved a strong stimulus to exertion in this and my other works, in order doubly to recoup the damage. If contrary to your expectation and my intention, so much time has been spent in finishing and sending them (for I confess three years and more have gone by since I began them), I beg your Majesty not to attribute this result to my neglect, for I can say with truth that I have hardly attended to anything else, as your secretary Garcia Hernando can tell you, who has often pressed me,

though I did not require pressing, and the cause was simply the quantity of time required, and my fervent wish to produce something worthy of your Majesty, which made me forget fatigue, and put all my industry into the polishing and completing of them. Is it not indeed my greatest study to serve your Majesty? Is it not my only aim in life to refuse the service of other princes and cling to that of your Majesty? What painter, old or new, can boast as I can of being benignantly asked, as well as urged by his own will, to serve such a King? I hold myself to be so flattered by this, that I dare to affirm I do not envy the famous Apelles, who was so dear to Alexander the Great, and I say so with reason, since, if I consider the dignity of the monarch he served, I fail to see who else is more like Alexander in all parts that are admirable and worthy of praise than your Majesty. And as to dependents, though it is true my small merit is not by any means comparable to the excellence of that singular man, it is enough for me that as he had the grace of his king, I have the feeling that I also possess the favour of mine. Because the authority of your kindly judgment, united to the regal magnanimity continuously shown to me, makes me equal to Apelles, and perhaps his superior in the opinion of men. And so, in order to show my gratitude in every way I can think of, I send, besides the other pictures, the portrait of her who is absolute patroness of my soul, and that is her who is dressed in yellow, who, though in truth only painted, is the dearest and most precious thing I could send away. But here I am a living witness of

your Majesty's humane and gentle nature, which gives courage to one who in respect of your high rank is so humble to correspond with your Majesty by letter, and so enough as to paintings. I wrote some days ago to your Majesty in reference to the assassination of my son Horatio, at Milan, by Leone Aretino, and of the mortal wounds which he received, praying for the deserved punishment of the offender after the custom of your Majesty's justice. Process was issued in due form against him, and great effort was made after his recovery by my son to hasten the trial, and for this he was forced to spend much of the money obtained by your Majesty's bounty at Milan, but the wretch is so clever and so favoured on account of the name which he bears of Statuary to your Majesty, and my son is so much a stranger at Milan, that the case has been subjected to delays, and will probably end in smoke, to the great detriment of justice, and the more so because my son has come home, and there is no one at Milan who can counteract the cunning and ways of this wicked man. I therefore most humbly pray that your Majesty will deign to give orders to the Senate to hasten the judgment and exercise justice in a manner suitable to so great an offence, showing that your Majesty holds me to be one of your servants. My son Horatio above named (I had almost forgotten) sends with mine a small picture of 'Christ on the Cross,' painted by himself. Will your Majesty deign to accept it as a small testimony of his great desire to imitate his father in serving you? And with all inclination of the heart, I

and he recommend ourselves, and I kiss your Royal and Catholic hand.

"Your Catholic Majesty's

"Most humble and devoted Servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *Sept.* 22, 1559."

In a minute of two despatches of September 27 and October 11, Garcia Hernandez noted:

"That I have sent to Genoa the glass panes and glasses and the pictures of Titian, according to his Majesty's orders. Titian gives the subjects which he sends in a letter of the 23rd of September, and adds a canvas from his son Horatio, the same who was struck by Leone Aretino, and as to this, Titian begs your Majesty to move the Senate that justice may be done in a manner suitable to the enormity of the delinquent's offence."†

Time sped on, and Titian heard no more of his works or their reception; but after the slow fashion of the period—as we shall see—they reached their destination, and gave pleasure to Philip the Second. Since the days of his connection with Alfonso of Ferrara, Titian had never composed any mythological subjects of equal importance, in respect of incident and number of figures, as the "Diana and Calisto," or the "Diana and Actæon;" but now, as then, he

* See the original in Appendix.

† See the minutes in Appendix, and see also Garcia Hernandez's charge for sending the pictures in an account dated Oct. 1, 1563, in Appendix.

spared no pains to produce engaging pictures; and if he failed to come up to the standard which he had himself set up, the fault lay in circumstances over which he had no control. In looking at the gorgeous canvases which now form part of the Ellesmere collection, we are bound to remember that they were finished when Titian was eighty-two years old; and on this account alone we must look for a certain bluntness of expression and a certain absence of delicacy in contour. One canvas represents Diana surprised at the bath by Actæon, the other Calisto's shame discovered by the Goddess of the Chase. Both are made up of figures two-thirds of life-size.

As Actæon breaks on the solitude of Dictynna his quiver is on his back, his dogs are at his heels. At sight of the goddess his arms are thrown up in surprise, and his bow falls stringless to the ground. Diana is parted from the luckless hunter by the breadth of a rill. The diadem is on her forehead, and the pearls in her hair, but she sits naked on her dress, and her purple mantle lies on the bank, whilst the nymph at her side wipes the water from her foot. At Actæon's appearance Diana droops her head, and a negress behind her draws together, though vainly, the mantle from below, the muslin from above; a little dog barks furiously the while across the water; on the marble steps of a fountain in rear of the rill a girl with a mirror clutches the fold of a red cloth hanging from the arch above her, a second gathers herself together, a third turns her back, and a fourth hides

all but her face behind a square pillar. The scene is laid in a glade, not "of cypress and pine." The fountain is a ruin of rustic and antique manufacture, with marble steps and bas-reliefs, defiant of the poet's lines—

> ". . . . antrum nemorale recessu,
> Arte laboratum nulla, simulaverat artem
> Ingenio natura suo."*

Through the archings of the fountain the eye wanders to blue hills and brown ranges fitfully lighted by a warm sun in a sky swept with clouds.†

As Diana prepares for the bath she sits on a bank at the fountain edge. Behind her is a grove of luxuriant trees, from which a gorgeous tapestry depends. Her left arm is on the shoulder of a nymph, who stoops to her lovingly; at her sides two huntresses with their dog; kneeling in the brook a nymph bathing her foot; on the grass with her legs in the stream a girl with a feathered dart, and near her a hound at full-length on the sward. But on the oppo-

* Ovid, Metamor. iii. 155.

† This canvas is signed on the pillar to the right, "TITIANVS F." Now in the Ellesmere collection; it was in the royal palace at Madrid when Charles Stuart, as heir apparent, made his appearance at the Spanish Court. All the light pictures of Titian, the "Danae," "Adonis," "Rape of Europa," the "Diana and Actæon," and the "Calisto," were packed as presents to Charles. Eighty years later the two last named pictures, together with the "Europa," were given by Philip the Fifth (1704) to the Marquis of Grammont, who took them to France. They passed into the Orleans Gallery, at the sale of which the "Actæon" and "Calisto" were bought for the Duke of Bridgwater for £2500. The small version of the "Actæon," No. 482 at Madrid, m. 0.96 h. by 1.07, is a copy, probably by Del Mazo. (Compare Don P. de Madrazo's Madrid Catalogue, p. 270.) The copy was photographed by Laurent.

site or left side of the picture, two nymphs are holding the hapless Calisto, who struggles on the ground with shame in her face as the girl, her companion, stands over her and raises the veil that conceals her secret. At sight of her form Diana stretches out her hand and bids her begone. Here, too, the fountain is faced with marble. A square plinth adorned with bas-reliefs acts as pedestal to Cupid, who pours water out of a vase, and behind the fountain stretch the groves and hills of Cynthia's hunting grounds.*

It would be vain to look for the poetry and freshness of the Bacchanals in these late creations of Titian's brush. The flash and fire of youth were leaving the artist as they had left the man. There are countless subtleties of thought and of hand which make up the charm of the "Bacchus and Ariadne" that do not recur in the "Actæon." There are bits of cleverness on the other hand in the "Calisto" which are not to be matched in the "Bacchanal." But the yield of the earlier time, take it all in all, is sweeter and of better savour than that of the later

* This picture is signed on the plinth of the fountain, "TITIANVS, F." It has the same history as the "Actæon," hangs in the Ellesmere collection, and was bought for £2500 from the Orleans Gallery for the Duke of Bridgwater. The bas-reliefs on the fountain represent Diana hunting. A smaller copy of the "Calisto" probably by del Mazo, is No. 483 in the Madrid Museum. It is photographed by Laurent. Both the Ellesmere canvases are injured by abrasion, restoring, and bad varnishes. The subject, "Diana and Calisto," was one of which Charles had a representation; but the name of the painter is not given. See Mr. Cartwright's notes in the Academy for 1874, p. 268.

period. Rich, exuberant, and bright the works of the master always were, but there is something mysterious and unfathomable in the brightness and sweetness of his prime which far exceeds in charm the cleverness of his old age. When we look at the groves of Naxos or Cyprus, there are enchantments there which we do not find again in Arcadia; though the distant hills and wooded slopes of Gargaphia are lit with a sun as gorgeous as that which shines in the realm of Bacchus. The god, who springs from his car to seek Ariadne, whilst his followers dance after him on the sward, are much more ideally beautiful than Actæon, or the goddess and her maids whom Actæon surprises. Handsome in shape and proportion, the latter have not quite that perfume of youth and health and vigour which is so striking in the former. Titian was never more thoroughly master of the secrets of the human framework than now that he was aged. Never did he less require the model. What his mind suggested issued from his hand as Minerva issued from the brain of Jove. His power was the outcome of years of experience, which made every stroke of his brush both sure and telling. But years had also made him a realist, and practice had given him facility; and both produced a masterly ease which is not always quite so like nature as earlier and more studied, though perhaps more timid labour. Yet it would be a mistake to think that the facility apparent on the surface of these pictures was the result of mere rapidity of conception and handling. On the contrary, there is every reason to think that Titian

devoted both time and study to his work, and it is one of his clevernesses here to conceal this strain upon his faculties. His composition is arranged in favourable and graceful lines. His forms are beautiful and of more slender scantling than of old. A rare intelligence of plastic definition is displayed in shapes modelled with substantial pigment and breadth of touch, but rich in tone and enamelled surface; and additional effect is given by a flush of warm tinted light which merges into brown and transparent shadow. It may be thought that Titian indulged in excess of bituminous rubbings and blurred stroke. But this was a trick of execution which had become habitual to him, and was after all not unsuited to nudes seen in the open air of summer, and Titian was too much of a philosopher and naturalist to wander into haze or supernatural halo in a scene altogether of earth. There is unhappily no English word to convey the idea of that form of execution which in French and Italian is expressed by "*chic*" and "*di pratica.*" It came very late to Titian, comparatively early to Paolo Veronese and other Venetian craftsmen; but it would be very hasty to assume that because the same phenomena are apparent at about the same time in the younger and older master, the latter came under the influence of the former in an absolute sense. Whilst Titian was completing the "Diana and Actæon" or the "Entombment," Paolo Veronese had been composing his celebrated "Feast in the House of Simon," where, on twenty-five square yards of canvas, he combined palatial architecture and costly raiment-

painting with every form of realism that an observant eye could light upon. The size and splendour of the picture no doubt gave it a singular attraction, but one of its characteristic features was a peculiar scheme of colour.* The system illustrated in this and cognate works, less familiar to an executant in oils than to one accustomed to fresco, mainly consisted in setting pigments of garish tints in such contrasts as would neutralise each other by juxtaposition. Oriental weavers had for centuries illustrated this theory in practice. Paolo applied it not only to distinguish the parts of one dress, but to distinguish one dress and figure from the other; decomposing even the tints of flesh and setting colours together without transition that they might act as complementary of each other. With this method he could produce brilliant, sparkling, and even gaudy work—but work that inevitably paled before the rich suffusion of tone which always covered Titian's canvases. It is true Titian had become at this period more silvery than of old. Glosses of grey and yellow in flesh relieved by warm brown recalled more than of old the prismatic tones obtainable from silver; but this scale in Titian was always combined either with blending or glazings and scumblings, forming links of transition between light and shadow, and were invariably subsidiary to chiaroscuro, rich glow of complexion, landscape, or drapery. Titian, in fact, remained a colourist in the subtlest sense, and even now had something to teach to Paolo,

* The picture is in the Gallery of Turin.

who had already studied to some purpose the secrets of such earlier pieces as the Mantuan "Entombment," the "Madonna" of Casa Pesaro, the "Presentation in the Temple," the "Ecce Homo" of the Dannas, and the "Vision of Faith to the Doge Grimani."

When he sent away the "Calisto," Titian kept a replica or sketch model of the same size—to which, possibly, he had given a few touches of his own—and this replica came into the collection of the Archduke Leopold William at Brussels in the seventeenth century, and from thence to Vienna, where it now remains. Whether this was the sketch of which history records that it passed, at Titian's death, into the workshop of Tintoretto, it is impossible now to say. At all events, in the version now at Vienna there are some notable varieties in the action and in the actors, and principally in the figure of Calisto, whose shame is not as ruthlessly exposed as it is at Madrid. But besides this change, which is merely wrought by the addition of a little drapery, there are others of a more decided character. The naked nymph tearing the veil from Calisto's waist is replaced by one that is dressed and kneeling. The nymph at Diana's foot has disappeared. A lap-dog is substituted for the hound in the foreground, and the shape of the fountain and landscape is changed altogether. In treatment, again, the picture is far behind that of the Ellesmere collection, and suggests the co-operation —if not indeed exclusively the hand—of Orazio, Girolamo, or Andrea Schiavone. Numerous copies of the "Calisto" and "Actæon," though assigned to

Titian, do not deserve even this small concession of authorship.*

In the "Entombment" which accompanied the "Calisto" and "Actæon" to Madrid, Titian repeated a subject which he had studied frequently since the first example of it had been sent to Mantua some thirty years before. Comparing the picture as executed for Federico Gonzaga with that produced for Philip the Second, we may be struck as with something familiar, lingering undefinedly, though still indelibly, on the mind. It is not that the theme is exactly the same in both pieces, since different moments in the action of entombment are represented, but that in both we

* The "Calisto" at Vienna is numbered 17 in the second room of the first floor at the Belvedere. It is on canvas, 5 ft. 8½ h. by 6 ft. 4. There are some curious inequalities in the treatment, which is in places thin, dry, and flat, in others full and pastose. In many of the forms the finish is quite beneath Titian, and the trees are particularly like the work of Schiavone. Deserving of note, to fix the variations from the Madrid picture, are the fountain, which here is a basin, on a pedestal merging into dolphins at the water's edge. On a shaft above the basin Minerva stands, with a stag at her side; water streams from her breasts and from the stag's nose. A yellow festoon hangs from the tree to the left, and to the right there is a rainbow in the sky. This piece was engraved in Teniers' gallery work. There are also engravings of the subject by Cort and Van Kessel. The following copies of smaller size than the originals exist: Academy of San Luca, at Rome, much injured copy of the "Calisto;" Lord Yarborough, in London, copy of the Madrid copy of the "Actæon" of the Ellesmere Collection, called an original sketch; Hampton Court, copy again with some varieties. None of these canvases are of the sixteenth century. A feeble copy of the "Actæon" under the name of Paolo Veronese, is in the Nostitz Coll. at Prague. "Diana and Actæon, where Diana is near a fountain with her nymphs," is one of the pictures assigned to Titian, size 3 ft. 3 by 3 ft. 3, once catalogued in the Buckingham Collection (Bathoe's Catalogue, *u. s.*, p. 2), "Actæon and Diana," by Titian, much spoiled, was one of the pieces in James the Second's Collection (Bathoe, *u. s.*), No. 314.

observe generally the dead body of Christ, the agony of Mary, the grief of the Evangelist, and the wail of the Magdalen. The same figures do not affect similar action in both compositions, but certain rhythmic movements recur, as that of the man stooping over the form of Christ and presenting the back of his head and frame to the spectator, and that of the Virgin looking with anguish at her Son. Besides these we have modifications of types which are to be found as studies of expression in single canvases. The Magdalen is still the model which graced the "Venus Worship" at Madrid, or the "Entombment" of the Louvre; the Virgin is nearly related to the grieving "Madonna" which we saw displayed at the death-bed of Charles the Fifth. But here the Saviour is not carried to the tomb, He is lowered into it, and the sepulchre presents to us its marble sides adorned with bas-reliefs of antique carved work. The legs of Christ are nearer to us than His head. But the foreshortening is so cleverly managed that the parts which might have seemed too near to be in focus are concealed in the grasp of the bending Nicodemus, whilst the head grandly reposes on the breast of Joseph, who kneels at the opposite end of the grave with a strong grip of the body under the arm-pit. The flexibility of the frame, the raised legs, and hanging hand are very grandly represented. The Virgin taking the left arm of her Son, which she hopes to kiss, still hovers over Him with an agonized look expressed with great force. With equal power we note the grief of the Evangelist behind Mary, who wrings his fingers, and the wail of

the Magdalen, whose yellow robe flies and leaves her white dress exposed as she comes sobbing and hair dishevelled to catch a last glimpse of the Redeemer There is no such gorgeous colouring, no such magic effect of light, no such careful definition of outline, or gloss and grain of surface in this as in the Mantuan example, but it is the work of a man much more expert and practised than of old—of a man who knew the laws of composition, and applied them—a man acquainted with inexhaustible varieties of expression —a realist who knows every action of body or limb by heart. Less rich in tints, less engaging in form, less select in features, the *dramatis personæ* at Madrid are superior to those of the Louvre, inasmuch as they are more true to nature and have a deeper meaning. Less highly coloured, they bear closer inspection, and the nude especially is modelled with appropriate shades of tone with a decision and firmness which left almost nothing for subsequent blending or glazing. It is, in fact, as if we should distinguish the grave doctrine and depth of Bach from the playful and melodious power of Mozart, or compare the profound but realistic Rembrandt with the brilliant and cavalier-like Van Dyke.*

* The canvas sent to Philip the Second in 1559, is that which now appears numbered 464, measuring m. 1.37 h. by 1.75, in the Madrid Museum. Its history is the same as that of the "Diana and Acteon," and the "Calisto." But unlike those pieces it was not given away to Charles Stuart or to the Duke of Grammont, and it remained for centuries the ornament of the altar in the old church (Iglesia Vieja) at the Escorial, after having been in Philip's lifetime on the altar of the Royal Chapel at Aranjuez. On a sheet fastened to the right side of the sepulchre we read,

One copy we saw had been made of the Mantuan "Entombment." But it was not made in the master's workshop. The "Entombment" of Madrid was frequently repeated, not only by Spanish and other craftsmen, of which examples may be found in Spain and in England, but by Titian himself or his pupils.* One of the replicas to which Titian personally may

TITIANVS VECELLIVS ÆQVES CÆS. Half the composition is relieved (to the left) on a dark wall, the other half on a landscape. The saint at Christ's head is in brown, the other at the feet is in red, with a striped sash. The white winding sheet falling over the bas-relief of the tomb gives some subtle varieties of light. (Compare Don P. de Madrazo's Catalogue, *u. s.*) Photograph by Laurent.

* The "Entombment," like the foregoing, in the Madrid Museum, numbered 491, on a canvas, m. 1.30 h. by 1.68, varies in so far that the saint on the extreme right wears a robe embroidered with black flowers; the tomb is without bas-reliefs, and the word TITIANVS F. is written on the stone of the left side. But the execution is not that of Titian or his pupils, but that of a Spaniard who may be Del Mazo. (Compare again, P. de Madrazo, who shows that a copy of this "Entombment" by Del Mazo, once rested on an altar in the chapel of the Alcazar at Madrid.) Photograph by Laurent.

A second copy of the "Entombment" is still in the old church at the Escorial, surmounted by a half-length "Madonna," ascribed to Titian, but likewise a copy.

To these we add the following:

Hamilton Palace.—This is a free adaptation, with figures of life size in a gloomy landscape. At Christ's head are two bearded men. The Magdalen wrings her hands. The figure in the right foreground holding the feet is only seen to the thigh. The style is that of a follower of the Bassani, a Spaniard rather than an Italian, who loses the lines of Titian's composition, and tries in vain to reproduce his rich colours. His general tone is hard and red.

Ambrosiana, Milan.—This again is a variety, with the Marys and a standing saint in prayer to the left; on the base of the tomb, TITIANVS. But the handling is that of an imitator of the seventeenth century.

Torrigiani Collection, Florence.—This again is an adaptation, with life-size figures, of the Madrid "Entombment," with different dress. The figures are all half-lengths, and lighted by a torch held by one of the men to the left. One of them, to the right, is much injured. On the whole a poor work of the seventeenth century.

have contributed is that which came into the Mantuan gallery, and is traced to the collection of Charles the First and James the Second of England.* Another is that which passed into the hands of the prime minister of Spain five years before Titian's death. At a conference held between Antonio Perez and the Venetian envoy Donato, in 1572, the former expressed a strong wish to become possessed of one or two pictures by Titian, and Donato hastened to communicate this wish to his government. The consequence was that the Council of Ten sent a competent judge to Titian's house, who chose two canvases, one sacred and the other profane, and these were forwarded by the next opportunity to Spain.† Shortly after this Antonio Perez fell into disgrace and suffered imprisonment for alleged treason. His family, in want of funds, announced an auction of his pictures, and of these the Imperial envoy, Khevenhiller, made a report to Rudolf the Second, describing, amongst others, the "Entombment" by Titian as a replica of the King's at the Escorial.‡ It is not known what became of the picture after this report, but some persons think that it may have remained in Spain, from whence it was taken by the Duke of Buckingham in 1622. There is no doubt that an "Entombment" by Titian formed part of the Duke's Collection; and this was

* See Bathoe's Catalogue, *u. s.* The picture is missing.

† Compare Cicogna's MS. notes, *u. s.*, to Tizianello's "Anonimo;" and Mr. A. Baschet's contribution on this subject to the Gazette des Beaux Arts, for Jan. 15, 1859, pp. 76–9.

‡ Ludwig Urlich's Beiträge, *u. s.*, in Zeitsch. f. bild. Kunst, v. p. 81.

sold at Antwerp after his death to the agents of the Archduke Leopold William.* Comparing this piece, which is now at Vienna, with the earlier one at Madrid, we may concede that it is the same composition, yet with varieties. For here the Magdalen is represented wringing her hands, whilst little more than the head of St. John the Evangelist is seen between the profile of the Virgin and the shoulders of the saint next him. Unhappily the canvas appears to have been mutilated and patched up anew, and this treatment may have caused injuries which prevent us from distinguishing much of the personal labour of Titian.† The master himself never thought out any better design of the subject than that which he used at Madrid; the sketch—pen and ink and bister heightened with white—is still preserved in the Collection of Oxford University, and shows that Titian seldom made preparatory paintings in oil, but simply finished large pictures from drawings.

Whilst the "poesies" were still hanging on their easels, though all but ready for despatch to Spain, Cristoforo Rosa, a Brescian and gossip of Titian, had been painting for the "*Procuratia* di sopra" the vestibule of the library at Venice, with designs

* Bathoe's Catalogue, and Krafft's Krit. Katalog.

† This canvas, in size 3 ft. 1½, by 3 ft. 7, is No. 32 in the second room, first floor, Italian Schools, at the Belvedere of Vienna. It has a strip of new canvas round three sides, and is signed on the right of the tomb, "TITIANVS." The scene is in an enclosed space, and in gloom. When in the Collection of the Duke of Buckingham this piece was 3 ft. h. by 4 ft. 6. It was engraved by Paul Pontius, at Antwerp, and then showed the full length of the figures. Good photograph by Miethke and Wawra.

simulating architectural and surface decoration. Titian was asked by the Procuratia on the 9th of September to value this work,* and it is probable that he then executed the splendid picture of "Wisdom" which adorns the centre of the vestibule ceiling. Paolo Veronese, Schiavone and the rest of the young painters had been busy with the neighbouring hall a short time before, and Paolo had received from Titian's hands the golden collar which marked the public approbation of his skill by the Senate. We may fancy that Titian would be anxious to show that he too had not forgotten his craft, and we feel assured that he undertook the figure with a firm intention to produce something of mark. His success was fully equal to his expectation. "Wisdom" is a woman of grand form half recumbent on a cloud, on which she rests with her left elbow as on a pillow. On the palm of the left hand a long scroll reposes, whilst the right is stretched out to touch a folio held up by a winged genius. The head is in profile crowned with laurel, the face bending, the eye fixed on the book. Subtle drapery falls over the bosom, to which it clings as the cloth clings on the breast of the females in the Elgin marbles. The yellow mantle, which is thrown over the shoulders and flaps in the breeze, the grand drapery which covers the legs and shows its changing lines of green shot with yellow, the clever ease with which the form is thrown on the cloud, all this betrays Titian's habitual study of the antique and

* The record is in Zanetti's Pitt. Ven., p. 339.

his intimate acquaintance with the ceiling-work of Raphael and Michaelangelo. It would hardly be possible to fill an octagon field more appropriately than this, impossible to produce anything more abundantly graceful and elevated, or more splendidly foreshortened. The play of light and shade combined with that of atmosphere and colour is magic, and the touch, broad, firm and to the purpose, cannot be surpassed.* In his old age Titian shows more cleverness in decorative work of this kind than in his youth or prime, and this allegorical creation is more impressive and striking than the fresco of "St. Christopher" in the Ducal Palace or the fresco of uncertain date which adorns the staircase near the Scala de' Giganti.†

It was during this year 1559, that Titian lost his brother Francesco, who died at Cadore, and was eulogised in a Latin oration by his relative Vincenzo Vecelli. It is impossible to say how Titian received the news of this death, nor is it known whether it came upon him suddenly. There is no evidence to show that he visited on this occasion the place of his birth, to which he had been so partial in the days of

* This fine piece has been well photographed by Naya. The earliest mention of it is in Boschini's Ricche Miniere Sest. di S. Marco, p. 67. Zanotto (Nuovissima Guida, p. 114) assigns it, without giving his authority, to the year 1570.

† This fresco may be described here. It is a lunette, in which the Virgin is represented playing with the infant Christ, who lies on his back on her lap, and catches at her veil. An angel at each side, naked, winged, and in prayer. The whole composition on clouds. This was once a fine fresco, in Titian's broad manner, but has suffered from repainting to such an extent that almost all the original beauty is gone.

his youth. Certainly the numerous duties which devolved upon him as successor to his brother were performed in his stead by his son Orazio, whose presence at Cadore in the spring of 1560 is proved by more than one record of undeniable authenticity.* But we can hardly think that Titian would absent himself altogether from a family gathering of this kind, and it is easy to suppose that he came up to Cadore and made a short stay there, when perhaps he undertook to paint for the chapel of the Vecelli the well-known altarpiece which still adorns the church of the Pieve. Between promising and executing an altarpiece at this period of the master's life there was a wide difference, and it would seem that Titian was not by any means ambitious of leaving one of his best creations at Cadore. But still if he did not take much personal pains with such a work, he deputed some one not quite incapable to take his place, and the result was a picture which has the merit of being at least Titianesque.† The Virgin is represented bending over the form of the naked infant Christ, to whom she gives the breast. To the right St. Andrew stoops under the weight of a large cross. To the left St. Titian of Oderzo, a young and handsome prelate with an eagle nose and a slight black beard and moustache, kneels in a white pivial and mitre with his gloved hands joined in prayer, whilst an acolyte with

* See a record of May 21, 1560, in Appendix.

† Vasari (xiii. 31) states distinctly that Titian painted this picture, which, however, he only describes from hearsay.

a grey beard in black cap and gown carries the crozier. According to a tradition confirmed by Titianello's "*anonimo*," the bald and bearded St. Andrew is Francesco Vecelli and the acolyte is Titian drawn by himself; and it is undeniable that there is some ground for acknowledging tradition in respect of the latter.* But as to St. Andrew, the legend, old and respectable though it be, can scarcely be accepted as trustworthy, and judging of the picture professionally, no critic will admit that it bears scrutiny as a work of Titian. It is in fact a homely and rather artless combination of portraits freely handled and gay in tone but sloppy in touch, and of that empty uniformity which comes of using superabundant varnish medium. The canvas displays some of the technical habits of Titian without his skill and force, and it must for that reason be assigned to some one familiar with his style, who can be no other than Orazio Vecelli. Titian thus undertook to paint an altarpiece upon which he scarcely left a stroke, if indeed he touched it at all; and this accounts for the want of character which appears in the likeness of himself, which instead of having the marked and noble lines conspicuous in the great examples of Berlin and Madrid is a mere generalization of his features. Of Francesco Vecelli, his relative Vincenzo said: "erat ei species et forma admirabilis."† This but ill suits the face depicted under the name of St. Andrew, whose air and shape are not only homely and

* Tizianello's Anon., p. 8.

† Orazione, Panegirica, *ut s.*, in Ticozzi, p. 323.

vulgar, but in type and mould altogether different from Titian.*

* This canvas, in the Pieve, is 2 ft. h. by 4 ft. 3 in length, and has suffered from a curious mutilation. The Madonna and Christ, with a fragment of the St. Andrew (the whole forming a rectangle about half as large as the picture), was cut out by a thief, but on being recovered was sewn on again. The picture in consequence is injured, and to this damage the usual cleaning and restoring must be added. The canvas is coarse in texture, and upon this ground pigments have been used with copious diluted medium. The forms are unusually short and thickset for Titian. There is a woodcut of the altarpiece in Mr. Gilbert's Cadore. But it was engraved by Lefèbre. (Compare Vas. xiii. 31, and Ridolfi, Mar. i. 265.) When Ticozzi wrote his lives of the Vecelli, the picture had been withdrawn from the Pieve to the house of Dr. Taddeo Jacobi, of Cadore (Ticozzi, *u. s.*, 115). It has since been restored to its original place.

CHAPTER VIII.

Paolo and Giulia da Ponte, Irene and Emilia of Spilimberg.—Their Portraits.—The Cornaro Family at Alnwick.—"Epiphany" at Madrid, and numerous Replicas of the same.—Victories of Cæsar.—Magdalens.—"Venus of Pardo."—"Christ in the Garden."—Titian and Correggio.—The "Europa" at Cobham.—Titian begins the "Last Supper."—"Crucifixion" at Ancona.—"St. Francis receiving the Stigmata," at Ascoli.—Mosaics and Mosaists.—Titian's Cartoons designed by Orazio Vecelli.—Nicholas Crasso.—His Altarpiece of "St. Nicholas" by Titian.—"St. Jerome" at the Brera.—"Venus with the Mirror."—Loss of Titian's Venetian Pictures by Fire.—"The Last Supper" at Venice and the Escorial.—Portrait of the Queen of the Romans.—Commission for the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence."—Titian visits Brescia.—Titian, A. Perez, and Philip the Second.—Canvases of Brescia Town Hall.—"The Last Supper" at the Escorial.—Its Mutilation.—Titian and the Milanese Treasury.—The "Transfiguration," the "Annunciation," and "St. James of Compostella."—Titian employs Cort and Boldrini as Engravers.—Vasari's Visit to Venice.—Pictures at that time in Titian's House.—Allegories.—Titian joins the Florentine Academy.

ITALY, at the close of the sixteenth century, was still the land of heroines; it was the only country in Europe capable of producing women like Vittoria Colonna, Veronica Gambara, and Isabella of Este. Ladies of birth and fortune in those days were either confined to the solitudes of convents, or bred up after the fashion of men. When they studied at all, they learnt Latin and Greek, or they read translations of the best classic authors, and when they had finished this course of instruction, they issued into the world,

combining the charms of literary converse with those more natural to their sex. Such a woman, in 1559, was Irene of Spilimberg, who died at the age of twenty, with the fame of classic learning, of poetic gifts, and artistic acquirements in music and painting. That a person so gifted should have lived at Venice without being connected in some manner with Titian, was not to be expected; and, though her knowledge of painting was confessedly lower than that which she displayed in other forms of culture, it was not the less regarded as a loss to the world that she should have been carried off without a chance of improving it.* Titian was well acquainted with Paolo da Ponte, the Venetian patrician, Irene's grandfather. He was on terms of friendship with Giulia da Ponte, Paolo's daughter and Irene's mother, who held one of his children at the baptismal font.† When Giulia married Adrian of Spilimberg, Titian probably visited the possessions of that nobleman, in Friuli, and particularly the Castle of Spilimberg, where early in the century Pordenone had left some of his frescos. After the death of Adrian, and the second marriage of his widow, Irene and her sister were taken to the house of their grandfather at Venice, where they received the manly education of which a sketch has just been given; and amongst the masters to whom Irene was indebted for lessons, Titian appears most prominently.‡

* See Dionisio Atanagi, Rime di diversi in morte della Signora Irene, 8vo, Ven. 1561; and Maniago, Stor. d. b. arte Friul., *u. s.*, pp. 125, 280, and 371.

† Vasari, xiii. 41.

‡ Atanagi and Maniago, *u. s.*

Count Fabio da Maniago, to whom we owe the only trustworthy account that exists of painting in Friuli, being distantly related to the clan to which Adrian of Spilimberg belonged, inherited some of his family pictures, and describes three of them, painted by Irene, "Noah entering the Ark," the "Deluge," and the "Flight into Egypt."* At Irene's death in December, 1559, Dolce wrote a sonnet, asking Titian to collect his strength, and furnish to the world a portrait of the heroine; and when Titian answered the call, he not only furnished a likeness of Irene, but one of her elder sister Emilia, both of which are still preserved in the house of her kinsman at Maniago. If in the first of these portraits we miss the beauties which inspired for a moment the Muse of Tasso,† it is, perhaps, only because time has injured the canvas, which restorers did their utmost completely to destroy. But the picture was at best a reminiscence preserved after death of a lady who was described in her lifetime as beautiful and fair. Irene is represented almost at full length and large as life, in a portico, from which a view is seen of a landscape, with a shepherd tending his flock, and an unicorn to indicate the lady's maiden condition. Her head is turned to the left: showing auburn hair tied with a string of pearls. Round her throat is a necklace of the same. Her waist is bound with a chain girdle, and over her bodice of red stuff a jacket of red damask silk is embroidered with gold, and fringed at the neck with a high standing muslin collar.

* Maniago, p. 245. † Atanagi, *u. s.*

A band hanging from the shoulders and passing beneath one arm is held in the right hand, whilst the left is made to grasp a laurel crown, and "Si fata tulissent" is engraved on the plinth of a pillar. The likeness of Emilia, done, it is clear, at the same time as that of her sister, is in the same form and costume, but turned to the right, the distance being a storm at sea, and a galley labouring on the waves, all of which is displayed through an opening in the room in which Emilia is standing. One can see that the idea which these two portraits embody is that of Irene going in peace from the world in which her sister is left to encounter the storms and passions of life.*

At this period, or perhaps earlier, Titian probably exercised his ingenuity in putting together the splendid groups of the "Cornaro Family," which now form one of the prime attractions of the grand Collection of Alnwick. The absence of other works of this year, except an "Epiphany" which we shall find despatched to Madrid, might almost speak for 1560. Nine feet long, and seven feet high, this canvas contains nine figures variously distributed about an altar on which the Holy Sacrament is displayed. The cube of the altar stands to the right in the picture, at the top of a flight of marble steps. To the left, with his hand on

* Both portraits are rubbed down and opaque from retouching, both are on canvas and of life size. A copy on canvas of the "Irene," seen to the waist, is in the house of Signor Gatorno, at San Vito del Tagliamento. It is an old picture, and probably of the sixteenth century, but not by Titian. The surface is injured by stippling and tinting.

the edge of the plinth, the eldest member of the party —an aged man with a white beard—kneels. More to the left, ascending the steps, another grey-bearded man looks up and presses his hand devoutly to his breast. Both are senators in state robes of red damask, with open hanging sleeves lined with fur. Lower down on the same side, a younger senator also in red, shows his face in profile, looking up, whilst in front of him three youths are kneeling. At the foot of the altar to the right, a little boy in red hose, lies on the marble step with a dog in his lap, the head of which is caressed by an elder boy with one knee to the ground, on whose shoulder a third boy leans his hand. All these figures are finely relieved on a sky bedecked with clouds, forming a superb composition treated in the broad free style which characterizes Titian's art when Tintoretto tried to imitate its grandeur and "senatorial dignity." Flesh or stuffs, all have their proper value and peculiar surface, carried out with the realistic force which distinguishes the work of the master's advanced age from that of the more winning time when he pleased more by colour and finish than by touch.*

* The canvas of the Cornaro family, 6 ft. 8 h. by 8 ft. 5, was purchased by Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, at the sale of the effects of Sir Anthony Vandyke in 1656. It was engraved by Baron in London, in 1732. On the altar of brown stone are a cross, two candles, and a vase. Parts of the picture are injured by repainting, particularly the left half of the kneeling boy on the extreme left, and the left hand of the boy next him. The left hand of the boy on the extreme right is also injured. The surface generally is altered by uneven cleaning and varnish. (Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1873.) There is a small copy of the picture assigned to "Old Stone" in the gallery at Hampton

The "Epiphany" which Titian sent to Spain was packed away and forwarded to its destination after the "Entombment," the "Actæon," and the "Calisto," yet Philip acknowledged the receipt of them all on the same day. The time which elapsed between dispatch and arrival of these pictures threw Titian into a fever of suspense. On the 24th of March, 1560, he wrote to the King "to ask whether they had been received. He feared they might not have given satisfaction. He would paint them over again. Meanwhile he pressed for the punishment of Leone Aretino." *

Again, with still greater insistance, on the 22nd of April:

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"Seven months have elapsed since I sent the pictures which your Majesty ordered of me, and as I have received no notice of their arrival, I should greatly rejoice to hear that they gave pleasure, because if they should not have done so, according to the perfect judgment of your Majesty, I should take care to paint them afresh so as to correct past errors. If received at last with favour, I should have more courage to proceed with the 'Fable of Jupiter and Europa' and the 'Story of Christ in the Garden,' and so to do something that might not be thought altogether unworthy of so great a King. The letters with which

Court. A drawing assigned to Titian, in the Wicar Museum at Lille, represents a mother at a table surrounded by nine children. The catalogue calls this "the Cornaro family," but on what grounds does not appear.

* Titian to Philip the Second, March 24, 1560, in Appendix.

I was favoured by your Majesty in respect of the money assigned to me at Genoa have not had any effect; from which it appears that he who can conquer the most powerful and proud of his enemies is not able to secure the obedience of his ministers, and I do not see how I can hope ever to obtain the sums granted to me by your Majesty's grace. I therefore humbly beg that the obstinate insolence of these subordinates may be chastised, either by ordering that my claims should be instantly satisfied, or by transferring the order for payment to Venice or elsewhere, so that your humble servant shall be enabled to obtain the fruits of your Majesty's liberality. My devotion further prompts me to ask your Majesty to order that the glorious and immortal victories of Cæsar should be painted as a memorial to posterity, and of these I should wish to be the first to paint one, as a sign of gratitude for the many benefits I have received from their Cæsarean and Catholic Majesties. So I should esteem it a favour of your Majesty to let me know the light and configuration of the rooms where these pictures are to hang, and meanwhile, &c.*

"Your Majesty's humble servant."

[No Signature.]

"*From* VENICE, *April 22nd*, 1560."

* No allusions but these occur in Titian's correspondence to "Cæsar's Victories." But it is remarkable that in 1557 Don Luis Davila caused "the battles of Charles the Fifth" to be painted in fresco in his palace at Plasencia, in Spain,—as supposed —from Titian's designs (see Stirling's Convent Life of Charles the Fifth, *u. s.*, p. 149); and similar designs are again alluded to as having been used at a festival given by the Emperor Charles the Sixth at Prague in 1723. (See Gio. Pietro Zanotti, Storia dell'

It is to be presumed that this and the previous letter were written for the purpose of being read to Garcia Hernandez, and that Titian after reading them was asked to leave them as memoranda in the presses of the Spanish Embassy. We cannot otherwise explain their preservation without signatures in the archives of Simancas.*

It was not till spring of 1561 that Titian heard, and then only by indirect channels, that his pictures had been received and approved.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"I learnt by letters from Delfino that your Majesty was pleased with the pictures which I sent of 'Diana at the Fountain,' the 'Fable of Calisto,' the 'Dead Christ,' and the 'Kings of the East,' at which I am the more content, as my greatest happiness is to find that my works have met with approval from so great a King. I now thank your Majesty anew for the two thousand scudi, of which payment was ordered three years since in Genoa, although your generous intent was not fulfilled, your Majesty's orders were not obeyed, and I have been subjected to severe losses. Resting my hopes on the payment of the money, I had bought some possessions for the support of myself and my children, which, to my great distress, I have been obliged to sell, and I now supplicate your Majesty most humbly that since your Highness

Accademia Clementina, Bologna, 1739, vol. ii. p. 24, quoted by Ciani in Storia del Pop° Cadorino, *u. s.*, ii. note to 319.

* See the original, of April 22, in Appendix.

deigned to grant me the said two thousand scudi, which it has been my misfortune not to obtain, your Highness should order that they be paid to me here at Venice. As an intercessor in the case, I have prepared a picture in which the Magdalen appears before you with tears and as a suppliant in favour of your most devoted servant. But before sending this I wait to be informed by your Majesty to whom it shall be consigned, that it may not be lost like the 'Christ;' and, in the meanwhile, I shall get ready the 'Christ in the Garden' and the 'Poesy of Europa,' and pray for the happiness which your Royal Crown deserves.

"Your Majesty's humble servant,

"TITIANO.

"*From* VENICE, *April 2nd*, 1561."

In a concise marginal note to this letter Philip the Second wrote, as if surprised: "It seems to me that this matter has already been arranged, and that written order was sent to pay and settle what is here stated." But this was a mistake, which, however, was soon after corrected.

The "Epiphany" sent by Titian to Madrid in 1560 is now in the Madrid Museum, being, as it were, the first of a series of replicas, of which one or more may have been finished by pupils in Titian's work-room. The longitudinal canvas, filled with figures of half the life-size, is divided into groups, the chief of which is that of the Virgin and Child, on the left, seated under a thatched pent-house with St. Joseph behind her and a kneeling king in front who kisses the Saviour's tiny

foot. Behind the king come the two monarchs his companions, with a suite of riders, led horses, and camels in a gay landscape, lighted by the rays of the rising sun. As a worldly scene of pomp and splendour, with people in lively motion, in the spirit of the great "Ecce Homo" of 1543, this is a picturesque composition, the model of which probably inspired the Bonifacios and Bassanos, who gave its touch of *genre* to the later art of the Venetians, a model, too, in the spirit and fashion of those which assumed such a monumental grandeur in the hands of Paolo Veronese. But here Titian seems to be represented in many parts of the composition by proxy; and there are fine groups, such as that of the Virgin and her adorers to the left, which are not to be matched in those to the right, where indeed some disciple of the master appears to have painted Titian himself on a horse amongst the suite.* The very picturesqueness of the subject caused it to be frequently copied—once by a Spaniard, whose version in the Escorial bears the name of Titian; once or twice in Italy, where painters whose style recalls that of Schiavone and the Bassani, produced the repetitions of the Munro and Ambrosiana Collections.†

* This canvas is now No. 484 in the Madrid Museum, and measures m. 1·41 h. by 2·19.

† The replica at the Escorial is in the old church, signed in the foreground to the left, "TITIANVS." Surmounting the picture is an "Ecce Homo," also ascribed to Titian. Both are below the master's powers, the "Epiphany" being probably by a Spaniard.

The repetition in the Munro, now Butler Johnstone, Collection has much the character of Schiavone or Bassano, the shadows being dark and bituminous, and the surface generally without th

In the course of summer 1561, peremptory orders were issued by Philip the Second to the treasurers at Genoa to pay Titian two thousand scudi, and on receipt of these the money was quickly sent to Venice. But Titian's claim was for gold, and the Genoese had paid him in ducats, which entailed a loss to the painter of two hundred pieces. The letter of acknowledgment which he addressed to the King was written under the influence of this defalcation, and assumed in consequence a tone of complaint rather than of thanks.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST POTENT CATHOLIC KING,

"Thanks to your Majesty's kindness I have at last received the money from Genoa, and I now most humbly incline myself and give thanks for the favour which, since it frees me from some embarrassment, will I hope enable me to spend the rest of my life in peace in the service of your Majesty. True indeed, I have received 200 ducats less than your Majesty's first schedule ordered, because the last did not specify that I should be paid in gold; but your Majesty will doubtless have the matter rectified and

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brio of Titian. This picture once belonged to Miss Rogers.

No. 170, at the Ambrosiana of Milan, is a good old copy in the style of that of the Munro Collection. There is a tradition that it was ordered by Cardinal Farnese for the King of France, but that it never left Italy, and being purchased by San Carlo Borromeo, it was left to the Milan Hospital, from whence it came into the hands of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and thence into the Ambrosiana. (Notices in the Inventory of the Ambrosiana.)

I shall get the difference, which will be of the greatest use to me. I still await your Majesty's directions to know to whom I shall deliver the 'Magdalen' which I promised long ago, and which I have completed in such a manner that, if ever your Majesty was pleased with any work of mine, your Majesty will be pleased with this. Your Majesty may send at leisure a trusty person to receive it that it may not be lost like the 'Christ' and other pieces some time since. Meanwhile, I shall proceed with the 'Christ in the Garden,' the 'Europa' and the other paintings which I have already designed to execute for your Majesty, to whom I humbly offer, &c.

"Your Catholic Majesty's most humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *the* 17*th of August*, 1561."

A *précis* of this letter laid before the King contains the following marginal memoranda in his own hand:

1. Send the money (200 scudi) from here, which will be least inconvenient.

2. Let the picture go to Garcia Hernandez, and write to him to forward it by a safe conveyance with some more of the glass previously bought at Venice.

3. Tell Titian to hasten the completion of the pictures of which he speaks and send them to the secretary, and write an order in my name that they go by safe conveyance, and write further that they be despatched with similar care from Genoa.†

* See the original in Appendix. † The original is in Appendix.

The letter embodying these instructions to Titian exists in Italian and in Spanish. The former is dated October 22, 1561, the latter by a clerical error, October 22, 1565. Both were inclosed to the secretary Hernandez, who described their delivery in the following interesting despatch.*

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"As soon as I received your Majesty's communication of the 22nd of last month, I gave Titian his letter, which afforded him considerable pleasure. He is still working at the 'Magdalen,' though he wrote that it was finished. When he delivers it in about eight days, I shall send it to the Marquess of Pescara with your Majesty's letter, which seems to me the shortest and the safest way. Good judges in art say that this ('Magdalen') is the best thing Titian has done. He is labouring at the two other pictures slowly as is natural to a man who is past eighty, but he says they shall be completed by February next, when he can despatch them to your Majesty by the Venetian ambassador who starts at that time. I have pressed him to keep his word and not to miss so good an opportunity. Your Majesty will be pleased to order the payment of 400 scudi, which are due for two years' pension to Titian, who being old is somewhat covetous (*codicioso*). The glass is in course of preparation, and will be ready at the close of the month, when I shall

* The original in Appendix; the translation in Gaye's Carteggio, iii. 59.

forward it to the ambassador Figueroa at Genoa. It goes in two cases, with one containing drinking cups for wine and water, and I shall write and not cease to press till they are shipped, as the others with the pictures remained there a year . . . .

"Your Catholic and Royal Majesty's servant, who kisses your Majesty's feet and hands,

"GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

"*From* VENICE, *20th of Nov.*, 1561."

On the 1st of December, Titian wrote to the King to announce the delivery of the "Magdalen," which Garcia Hernandez forwarded to its destination a few days after.* Contemporary gossip declared that it was not the canvas "which judges praised so highly," that was thus despatched to the King. Silvio Badoer, a patrician, well-known for his patronage of art, had seen the masterpiece on the painter's easel, and had taken it away for a hundred scudi; and Titian had been obliged to paint another for his Catholic Majesty.† In course of time both pictures disappeared, or went through such a course of adventures as to lose their identity.‡ But there are still half-a-dozen Magdalens in existence to show how Titian handled the subject, and the model which served as an original from which

* See Titian to Philip the Second, Dec. 1; and G. Hernandez to the same, Dec. 12, 1561; also G. H.'s accounts of Oct. 1, 1563, in Appendix.

† Vas. xiii. 41. Ridolfi (Mar. i. 248) says that the Badoer "Magdalen" was sold to a Fleming and taken to the Netherlands.

‡ Yet it may be that the "Magdalen" still exists in Spain, and Sir Abraham Hume notes that subject by Titian in the Sacristy of the Escorial. (Notices, *u. s.*, p. 82.)

all replicas and copies were taken, is a picture of the period upon which we are now busy, and an heirloom which after passing out of the hands of Pomponio Vecelli, into those of the patrician Barbarigo, afterwards went out of the Barbarigo Collection into the gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

The characteristic features of the piece which Cort engraved in 1566, are masculine power and a luxurious maturity of charms. Technically, the treatment reveals a bold readiness of hand, and an absolute command of means. The figure is turned to the right, and seen to the hip scantily clad in a white garment, which leaves a wide and well developed bosom and throat to be covered by copious locks of long wavy hair. The eyes are turned up towards heaven; tears drop down the cheeks, and the saint shows her grief and repentance, not only by expression, but by gesture, pressing with the right hand the locks on her neck, and gathering with her left the cloak of white wool striped with red and black which winds round her arm and waist. On a skull to the right an open book reposes. To the left the vase of ointment stands, and the light edge of the form on that side is relieved on a dark bank overgrown with coppice-wood, whilst the shaded edge is seen against a landscape, lovely in the variety of its hues, and balmy with atmosphere. There is no subtle veiling of tones, no artifice of colour. The artist knows exactly what he has to do, he balances light and shade distinctly, kneading his colours rapidly, and modelling out the forms with resolute brush-stroke, melting the

whole at last into a polished surface broken here and there with a touch, and warmed to a brownish glow by general glazing.*

The same figure, with some variety in the landscape and accessories, was repeated in the "Ashburton Magdalen," a picture which differs from that of St. Petersburg only in being of somewhat colder execution.† More or less on the same lines, the later "Magdalen" of the Naples Museum, and that of the Durazzo Palace at Genoa, are replicas in which the master's touch is still to be traced,‡ whilst copies

* This canvas, No. 98 in the Gallery of the Hermitage, is an heirloom which passed to the Barbarigo family, with Titian's house, in 1581. It measures m. 1·17 h. by 0·98, and is signed, on the dark ground to the left, "TITIANVS P." The surface is damaged by cleaning and retouching. Compare Tizianello's Anonimo, p. 10, and Ridolfi, i. 261.

† The canvas, till lately in Lord Ashburton's Collection, is of the same size as that in Petersburg, and is signed in the same way. The skull is seen at three-quarters, not in profile, as in the Barbarigo example, and the tree in the landscape is omitted. But this picture has been injured by washing and stippling. There are traces of retouching on the bridge of the nose and the cheek at both sides, and patches of repair are seen in parts of the foreground. The landscape and sky are masterly. Other parts may have been done by Titian's pupils and assistants.

‡ The Naples "Magdalen," No. 21 in the Museum, is like the foregoing, of life-size, and on canvas. Here the whole form is relieved against the dark bank behind. A slight veil is puffed by the wind at the shoulders. The treatment shows this to be a picture of Titian's advanced age. We might think it was that which the painter sent as a present to Cardinal Farnese, as we shall see in 1567; but that there are notices to prove that it was bought from the Colonna Collection by King Ferdinand the First. The pigment here is comparatively thin, and the tones have become dark and opaque from time and restoring. The most injured parts are the shadows, particularly about the neck and chin. The right breast is re-painted, and the signature, "TITIANVS P," is renewed over the old one.

The Durazzo "Magdalen" is a

belonging to the Yarborough and other Collections, betray more or less the hand of disciples or inferior artists.* The "Magdalen," it is clear, was a stock subject much in fashion; often repeated, seldom varied. It never taxed the powers of the master like the Venus of which we possess so many and such important varieties. Amongst the heirlooms which we shall soon find passing out of the hands of Titian's son, into those of Cristoforo Barbarigo, is the "Venus of the Mirror," of which numerous copies were made

repetition of that of Barbarigo, in which the landscape alone preserves Titianesque character, the rest being thoroughly re-painted.

* Lord Yarborough's example, canvas, 3 ft. 6 h. by 3 ft. 0½, has the book without the skull. The dress is striped red, yellow, and green. The cold tones and feeble modelling point to a Venetian artist of a time subsequent to Titian.

Mr. Joseph Sanders exhibited at Manchester a "Magdalen" which was a copy of that of Petersburg, by an artist of the schools of Padovanino and Contarini.

A copy again was the "Magdalen" ascribed to Titian in the Northwick Collection, a much damaged example.

Under Titian's name, and signed "TITIANVS P," is a "Magdalen" of feeble execution, No. 5, in the Gallery of Stuttgardt. The canvas is by a Venetian copyist, 4 ft. h. by 3 ft. 5.

Some of the foregoing may be identical with pictures noticed in books as by Titian, of which we have no very late accounts, *i.e.*, "Magdalen" by Titian, in the Madonna de' Miracoli at Venice (Boschini, Ricche Min. Sest. di C. Reggio, p. 5); "Magdalen" by Titian, which belonged to Rubens (Sainsbury, *u. s.*, p. 236); "Magdalen" on panel, 2 ft. 7 h. by 1 ft. 11, in the Collections of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth (see Père Dan's Trésor de Fontainebleau (1642), and Lépicié's Catalogue); "Magdalen" belonging to the Venetian, N. Crasso (Ridolfi, i. 131, 253); "Magdalen" in Casa Ruzzini, at Venice (Sansovino, Ven. descr. p. 374); "Magdalen" in Casa Muselli at Verona (Ridolfi, i. 258); two "Magdalens" in the Collection of Queen Christine (Campori, Raccolta, *u. s.*, p. 343), one of them afterwards in possession of the Duke of Orleans, subsequently belonging to Sir Abraham Hume, Lord Alford, and Earl Brownlow; "Magdalen" amongst the heirlooms of Ippolito Capilupi, Bishop of Fano, in 1580 (Darco, Pitt. Mant., *u. s.*, ii., note to p. 112).

JUPITER AND ANTIOPE. LOUVRE.

[*To face p.* 317, *Vol. II.*

by Titian's disciples and followers. But neither the original nor the copies of this fine work were calculated to create the impression produced by the more celebrated "Venus of Pardo," or, rather, the "Jupiter and Antiope," which Titian now sent to Philip the Second. Till quite recently, it was not possible to trace the history of this canvas beyond the reign of Philip the Fourth of Spain. That monarch, it was well-known, had given the picture to Charles Stuart, as he came to court his sister, but no one knew who had left it to Philip the Fourth. It is very remarkable that the copious correspondence of Titian with Philip the Second should not once contain an allusion to it, whilst frequent reference is made to the contemporary "Europa;" yet both pictures were painted about the same time, and Titian claimed payment for both of Antonio Perez, in 1574.* Though injured by fire, travels, cleaning, and restoring, the masterpiece still exhibits Titian in possession of all the energy of his youth, and leads us back involuntarily to the days when he composed the Bacchanals. The same beauties of arrangement, form, light and shade, and some of the earlier charms of colour are here united to a new scale of effectiveness due to experience and a magic readiness of hand. Fifty years of practice were required to bring Titian to this mastery. Distribution, movement, outline, modelling, atmosphere and distance, are all perfect. We remember the "Venus of Darmstadt," and "Ariadne asleep on the Sward." The

* See Titian to A. Perez, Dec. 22, 1574, in Appendix.

slumbering attitude of the first, the coloured flesh of the second, are here combined. But Antiope on her bed of skins is more lovely than either. Is she dreaming or only musing? Her eyes are closed, her ears are deaf to the sound of the horn and the barking of the hounds. She does not feel the stealthy pull of the cloth which Jupiter, "*Satyri celatus imagine,*" lifts from her feet. Her shape is modelled with a purity of colour and softness of rounding hardly surpassed in the Parian marble of the ancients. Cupid, whose quiver hangs on a bough, is the classic boy of the Greeks, as he flutters on a branch and shoots his arrow at the Satyr. The Sylvan gods intent on sport or conversation, are unsuspecting tenants of the groves or attend to their own amusement. A faun sits on his haunches near a girl with a lap full of flowers, but a huntsman who might be Actæon, cheers his companion who sounds *hallali*, and starts with his dogs towards the distant glade where the stag has been brought to bay by the pack in pursuit. Characteristic is the feeling of the painter when he takes us into the wilds of his native Cadore, and finds the heights of Cithæron or the banks of Asopus in the valley of Mel. Behind the group to the left, the deep foliage of a forest is finely contrasted with the tree-grown meadows on the banks of the stream, which shows its pretty line of falls to the right, whilst the blue mountains on the horizon are half concealed by the wooded hills that dip into the vale below. Splendid in contrast, the shades of tone are vivid and strong, and rich with a richness both solid and sating. Light

and gloom, fairness and weather-beaten tan; flesh and dress are all varied in surface and diverse in texture.*

The delivery of the "Europa" to the agents of the King of Spain seems to have been delayed for the sake of a smaller piece, of which Garcia Hernandez gave notice to his master on the 10th of April, 1562.† But on the 26th of the same month Titian himself communicated to Philip the completion of two of his great works.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST SERENE AND CATHOLIC KING,

"With the help of the divine Providence, I have at last finished the two pictures already com-

* No. 468 at the Louvre, on canvas, m. 1·96 h. by 3·85, figures large as life. For the history of this piece we must consult the Ashmolean MS. of Charles the First's Collection, as published by Bathoe, *u. s.*, where the following entry is printed: "The great, large, and famous piece called in Spain the 'Venus del Pardo,' which the King of Spain gave to our King when he was in Spain . . . done by Titian." Jabach bought the picture for £600 at the sale in London in 1650–1. It was valued 10,000 livres tournois in the inventory of Cardinal Mazarin's property, suffered from fire in the Palace of Prado at Madrid in 1608, and in the Louvre, in 1661, was cleaned and abraded by an ignorant painter, and left in a bad state to be restored by Antoine Coypel. All the old repaints have since been removed, and the picture was restored afresh and transferred to a new canvas in 1829. (See Villot's Louvre Catalogue.) Engraved by Bernard Baron, and Corneille; photograph by Braun. Lomazzo (Idea del Tempio [1590], p. 116) describes a picture of Venus asleep, with Satyrs uncovering her, and other Satyrs about her eating grapes, whilst Adonis in the distance is seen hunting. This piece he describes as having been left by Titian at his death to his son Pomponio. There is an adaptation of this composition on canvas ascribed to Titian in the Corsini Palace at Rome, but it is not original.

† Garcia Hernandez to Philip the Second, April 10, 1562, in Appendix.

menced for your Catholic Majesty. One is the 'Christ Praying in the Garden,' the other the 'Poesy of Europa carried by the Bull,' both of which I send. And I may say that these put the seal on all that your Majesty was pleased to order, and I was bound to deliver on various occasions. Though nothing now remains to be executed of what your Catholic Majesty required, and I had determined to take a rest for those years of my old age which it may please the Majesty of God to grant me; still, having dedicated such knowledge as I possess to your Majesty's service, when I hear—as I hope to do—that my pains have met with the approval of your Majesty's judgment, I shall devote all that is left of my life to doing reverence to your Catholic Majesty with new pictures, taking care that my pencil shall bring them to that satisfactory state which I desire and the grandeur of so exalted a King demands. Meanwhile I shall proceed with a 'Virgin and Child,' hoping to produce something that will satisfy your Majesty not less than my other works.

"Devoted humble servant,

"TITIANO.

"*From* VENICE, *April* 26, 1562."

The pictures came in due course to Spain, where the gospel subject was transferred to the Escorial and the "poesy" to the Royal Palace. In the solitude of the Prior's Hall in the Spanish monastery the "Christ in the Garden" was allowed to decay, so that, though originally grand and clever, it was nearly ruined before

it was "restored." The "Europa" shared the fate of the "Venus of Pardo." It was seen and copied by Rubens at Madrid, but subsequently packed away with other canvases of a light and fanciful style intended as presents to Charles Stuart. When Charles left Madrid and broke off his engagements, the "Europa" was restored to its place, and afterwards passed, with the "Actæon and Calisto," into the gallery of the Duke of Orleans, from whose collection it came into the hands of Lord Berwick and the Earl of Darnley.*

There is every reason to believe that early in the sixteenth century, Count Claudio Rangone of Modena was possessed of a celebrated work by Correggio representing Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane.† After many vicissitudes, this masterpiece found its way to England, where it now adorns the palace of Apsley House. In the days of Titian's acquaintance with the Rangones he doubtless had occasion to admire this noble composition, which he imitated in the canvas of Philip the Second. Here, as in Correggio, we see Christ kneeling with his hands outstretched and looking up at the angel who comes on the wing from heaven, whilst Peter and the sons of Zebedee are sleeping on the grass. The air of Christ's head and its foreshortening, the sprightly and

* The copy is still in the Madrid Museum, and is numbered in the catalogue of 1845, No. 1588. See also Madrazo's Madrid Catalogue, *u. s.*, p. 270.

† See L. A. David to Muratori in Campori's Lett. Ined., *u. s.*, p. 539; and compare Aretino to Claudio Rangone in Lett. di M. P. A., i. 35; and Lettere a M P. A., i. 70, and following.

not unaffected movement of the angel bearing the cup, are reminiscences of Allegri, which are not to be explained in any other way than by acknowledging Titian's indebtedness to his Parmesan contemporary.*

At first sight, the silvery light and deep brown shadows of the "Europa" remind us of Paolo Veronese; but the scene is depicted with much more elevation than Paolo was capable of feeling, and composed with much more thought than he usually bestowed on pictorial labours. Nothing betrays the aged character of Titian more than the inevitable looseness of drawing and the coarse delineation of realistic extremities, to which we must fain plead guilty in his name. But these defects are compensated by startling force of modelling and impaste, by lively effect of movement apparent in every part, by magic play of light with shade and colour, and a genial depth of atmosphere.

The bull, with his garland of flowers, raises a surge

* Escorial, Sala Prioral. Much injured canvas, with figures half the size of life. Christ is turned to the left, and looks at the angel who flies down from that direction. This picture is not to be confounded, as it is by Sir A. Hume (Notices, *u. s.*, pp. 38 & 84), with another, once in the Sacristy of the Escorial, now No. 490 in the Madrid Museum, where Christ is seen kneeling by moonlight in the garden (without the angel), whilst two soldiers, accompanied by a dog, are scaling the hill by the light of a lantern which one of them is carrying. Ticozzi (Vecelli, 212–13) curiously confounds these two pictures in one description. The last-named, though catalogued as a Titian (m. 1.76 h. by 1.36), is a poor adaptation of Titian's work by a Venetian copyist, whose work is *now* opaque and injured, the pigments originally being thin and the drawing defective.

as he rushes through the greenish brine, above which a dolphin just shows his snout. He looks imposing and triumphant as he lashes his tail and carries off his prize, and leaves a wake behind that reaches to the distant bank, where the nymph's companions are bewailing her loss, and a royal bull looks quiescent at his daring mate. Europa struggles on the back of the beast whose seat she dare not leave, holding on with her left to one of his horns, parted from his white side by an orange cloth, of which a fold is waved by her outstretched right arm. As her face is thrown back it catches a shadow from her arm, and her glance may reach to the shores far away where her companions have been left. The muslin drapery which conceals some of her shape, the orange cloth, the creamy hide of the bull, and the green curl of the water, sets off grandly a form which is not the less true to nature in its semblance because it displays no selection or ideal of contour, but is the reality itself in rich substance of gorgeous tone. Eros clinging with expanded wings to a dolphin, and sporting along in the course of the bull, is a lovely fragment of Titianesque painting, representing, as finely as the two Cupids with their bows and arrows in the air, the idea of rapid going, already suggested by the swimming fishes and the surge at the bull's breast. Masterly as a bit of "actuality," the shadow cast by her own arm on Europa's face is as truly caught as the reflection of the maid's companions in the blue deep water, or the lovely lines of the brown and azure hills which rest on the horizon. Nothing can be more vigorous or

brilliant than the touch which has all the breadth of that in the "Jupiter and Antiope," or the "Calisto," without the abruptness of Paolo Veronese, the broader expanses of tinting being broken effectually with sparkling red or grey or black, toned off at last by glazing and calculated smirch to a splendid harmony.* Strange to say there is no account extant of the King's reception of this picture, of which a fine, and probably a Spanish, copy is in the collection of Sir Richard Wallace.†

During the twelvemonth which followed the delivery of the "Europa," Titian had no further correspondence with Philip the Second. In May, 1562, we find him writing to Vecello Vecelli announcing the despatch of a "Venus and Adonis," and the coming of a "Madonna" to Cadore. Earlier in the previous year a lively interchange of letters had taken place between the painter and the Cadorine community, in consequence of Titian's claim to be paid with interest a debt of 1000 ducats, and the inability of the municipality to satisfy his demands. Vincenzo Vecelli was, perhaps, flattered with a present in order to secure his interest and accelerate the action of the

* This picture, now at Cobham Hall, was bought by Lord Berwick at the sale of the Duke of Orleans for £700. The figures are large as life on a canvas 5 ft. 10 h. by 6 ft. 8 in length. In the left hand corner of the picture, beneath the Cupid on the dolphin, we read in Roman letters, "TITIANVS. P."

† This copy is no doubt that which belonged to Dawson Turner, Esq., of Yarmouth (Waagen, Treasures, iii. 18), and has been characterised by some critics as a genuine sketch by Titian. It is, however, but a copy, and probably by Del Mazo. A poor copy of the Cobham Hall "Europa" is in the Dulwich Gallery.

Cadorine Council.* About the same period Titian was in communication with Andrea Coffino, a notary of Medole, who sent favourable accounts of Don Cristoforo da Cisano, at that time curate of the benefice of which Titian was the holder.† In November Orazio at Cadore was recovering for his father a meadow near Tai, which had been mortgaged in previous years by Francesco Vecelli.‡ A few months later Titian, whose scheming to obtain payment of his pensions shows that he possessed in an eminent degree the arts of diplomacy, sent a "Portrait of a Turk" through Capilupi, bishop of Fano, to Cardinal Gonzaga, to interest that prelate and induce him to react in his favour on the authorities of Milan.§ Titian's principal professional employment was the painting of a "Last Supper," upon which he had been busy for six years, and of which he gave some account to Philip the Second in the following letters:

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"Months have passed since I presented my humble duty to your Majesty otherwise than in thought, and now I take the opportunity of your Majesty's glorious victory to do so. In order to show

* See Titian to the Community of Cadore, April 24 and Sept. 3, 1561, in Beltrame's Tiziano Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 74.

† Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, p. 42.

‡ Record of Nov. 10, 1562 drawn by Vincenzo Vecelli, MS. Jacobi, of Cadore.

§ Ippolito Capilupi to the Cardinal of Mantua, March 7, 1563, in Darco, P. M. Mantua, ii. p. 138.

my devotion and my desire to be of service, I beg to say that though nothing remains to be done of all that your Majesty in past times kindly committed to me, I shall in a few days have brought to completion a picture on which I have been at work for six years. . . . . A "Last Supper of our Lord" and the "Twelve Apostles," seven braccia long and more than four braccia in height,—a work which is perhaps one of the most laborious and important that I ever did for your Majesty, and which I shall send on as soon as it is finished, by such channels as your Majesty shall direct. Meanwhile I beg your Majesty most humbly, and out of old friendship, before I die, to do me the grace to give me some consolation and utility of the privilege of corn from Naples, which was granted to me so long ago by the glorious memory of Cæsar, your Majesty's progenitor. I beg likewise to ask for some pension to realise the "*naturalezza*" of Spain, which was given to me in the person of my son, and also that your Majesty should deign to empower me, by some efficacious and valid schedule addressed to the Duke of Sessa, to recover my ordinary dues from the chamber of Milan, of which I have not had a quatrino for more than four years. . . . .

"Your Catholic Majesty's most devoted,

"humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO, *Pittor.**

"*From* VENICE, 28*th of July*, 1563."

* See the original in Appendix.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"MOST POTENT AND INVINCIBLE CATHOLIC KING,

"Having received no answer to numerous letters forwarded with my paintings to your Majesty, I greatly fear that either the latter have not been satisfactory, or your servant Titian is no longer in favour as of old. I should like very much to be assured of the one or the other; for knowing the opinion of my great King I should endeavour to act so as to avoid all cause of complaint in future. I trust that your Majesty will deign to give orders that I should be consoled, if not by a letter, at least by your Majesty's seal, which, I assure your Majesty, would add ten years to my life and be an incitement to send with a more joyful heart the "Last Supper," of which I wrote on previous occasions. This picture is eight braccia long and five in height and will shortly be finished, and your Majesty will be pleased to give directions to whom it shall be consigned, in order that the matter of this 'devotion' may be evidence of my devotion to your Majesty. And as, till now, I have not had the slightest payment for the numerous works which I have furnished, I ask for no more from the singular benignity and clemency of your Majesty than my ordinary dues on the Camera of Milan. . . . .

"Your Catholic Majesty's humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *Dec.* 6, 1563."

* See the original in Appendix. A duplicate, dated Dec. 20, 1563, is also in the archive of Simancas.

In the interval which lay between the dates of these letters and the despatch of the "Europa" to Spain, Titian was possibly busied with the composition and painting of the "Crucified Saviour with the Virgin, St. John Evangelist and the Magdalen," which is still preserved, though in a very bad state, in the church of San Domenico of Ancona.* He doubtless also painted the kneeling "Desiderius Guido in prayer before the Vision of St. Francis," which still remains, though nearly ruined, in the public gallery of Ascoli.† Much of his time, and not a little of his

* Vasari (xiii. 40) praises highly the "Crucifixion" in San Domenico of Ancona, which he describes as executed "*di macchia*" in the master's latest style. The picture is arched, and contains four figures of life size: Christ on the cross, of which the foot is grasped by St. Dominick, St. John looking up to the right, and the Magdalen to the left with her hands joined in prayer; on the bottom of the cross, "TITIANVS FECIT." A patch of canvas has been added to the bottom of the picture. The Christ is repainted anew, and the rest is dimmed by repainting and old varnishes.

† Desiderius Guido, of Ascoli, is a well-known prelate, who was Governor of Cesena in 1546, and Governor of Rome in 1592. In 1561 he founded the chapel in San Francesco of Ascoli, for which Titian's picture was furnished, and the fact is vouched for by an inscription preserved to the following effect: "Desiderius Guido, J.U.D. [juris utriusque Doctor], sibi posterisque suis Sacellum hoc divo Francisco dicatum poni curavit, A. MDLXI." (See Abate Gaetano Frascarelli's Memorie del tempio di S. Francesco di Ascoli, 8vo, Ascoli, 1861, coi tipi del Cardi.) Guido kneels to the right, whilst further back, in a landscape of hills, St. Francis kneels and receives the stigmata from Christ in the clouds. Behind the latter is a cross of heads of seraphs and cherubs. To the left of St. Francis the Friar Hilarius, on the ground some books, the arms of Guido, a tree on a hill, and near this, "TITIANVS VECELIVS CADVB." The picture is so injured that some parts of it show the priming of the canvas, yet it looks as if it might originally have been by Titian. Ridolfi notes a picture with this subject, by Titian, in S. Francesco of Ancona (Marav. i. p. 267). But he probably meant to write Ascoli.

mind, was absorbed in settling the differences which broke out at this period amongst the mosaists of the Church of San Marco.

At a very early period of Venetian civilisation it had been found advantageous to adorn churches with mosaics, and the Cathedral of St. Mark was not the least splendid edifice in the lagoons in which Byzantine craftsmen exercised their talents. But as pictorial skill increased, the demands made upon mosaists increased likewise, and it became requisite to form a school in which apprentices should be bred to the profession of setting coloured stones in patterns on walls. At the close of the 15th, and even in the beginning of the 16th century, painters such as Lazzaro Bastiani and Bissolo contributed to the decoration of San Marco; but about 1520 it was found necessary to organise a special establishment of professional mosaists, assisted by designers, chosen from the better masters of the day, and to these men the duty was entrusted of repairing worn mosaics, and executing fresh ones, and when the later pictures were substituted for those which time had brought to a state of decay, the temptation was not to be withstood of pulling down old work and replacing it with new. The founders of the modern school of mosaists were Marco Rizzo and Vincenzo Bianchini, whose appointment by the Senate dates as far back as 1517. In 1524 an important addition of strength was made by the selection of Francesco Zuccato, who for more than half a century remained the favourite and best paid master of the Venetian government.

In 1542 the mosaists were allowed to pay their apprentices a salary of three ducats a year out of the treasury of St. Mark, and under this rule Bartolommeo Bozza became a pupil and assistant to Zuccato.

Between Bianchini and Zuccato an old and incurable feud existed, into which the friends and enemies of both artists were gradually drawn. Zuccato had once charged his rival with coining, which led to Bianchini's imprisonment. After 1545, whilst Zuccato and his brother Valerio were employed at high pay in the vestibule of San Marco and Bianchini with his clan was busy designing the tree of Jesse in the chapel of Sant' Isidoro, Zuccato committed the mistake of setting the word "Saxibus" in a Latin inscription, and covered the defect with a piece of painted paper. Bianchini received intelligence of this and other alleged irregularities from Bozza, who abandoned his master and went over to Bianchini on grounds of which there is at present no explanation, and the *procurator cassiere,* Melchior Michele, was privately informed that irregularities had taken place which ought to be prevented or punished. A commission of inquiry was appointed, and the procurator was present when the mosaics of the vestibule were washed and the paper which covered "Saxibus" was swept away. On the 22nd of May, 1563, after suspicion had been thus aroused, Melchior Michele came to the cathedral accompanied by Sansovino and followed by Titian, Jacopo Pistoia, Andrea Schiavone, Jacopo Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese, when a diligent examination of all the

mosaics was made. It was found that paint had been used in various places, but the judges were unanimous in thinking that this was not material, as the mosaics were otherwise perfect. Still Zuccato was ordered to renew the parts that had been painted at his own expense; and Valerio was deprived of his salary till such time as he should prove his skill afresh. It appeared in the course of the investigations that all the cartoons of the Zuccati, were made in Titian's workshop and designed by Orazio Vecelli.* Orazio, it is clear, was at this period the presiding genius of his father's house, administering his property, and superintending the design and first laying-in of his pictures, and there is some reason for thinking that he was mainly instrumental in producing, with the help of assistants, the canvas of "St. Nicholas in cathedra," which was delivered in 1563 to the Venetian Niccolo Crasso. Crasso had been bred to the law, which he had given up for the mercantile profession, but having lost all he possessed by the wreck of his ship on the Syrian coast, he returned to the bar, where he made a fortune. In 1563 he bought the freehold of a chapel in San Sebastiano of Venice, and on the marble of the altar over which Titian's "St. Nicholas" was placed, he caused these words to be engraved:

"Nicolaus Crassus forum primum navigationem deinde secutus.
Ab adversa fortuna fortunis omnibus spoliatus,
Ad forum iterum reversus hunc postremo locum
Laborum omnium et miseriarum quietem sibi et post. p. MDLXIII."

* See for all these facts Zanetti's Pitt. Ven., *u. s.*, pp. 725, and following; and the protocol of May 22, 1563, in Hartzen's Essay on Schiavone, Deutsches Kunstblatt, No. 37, of the year 1853.

Titian's picture on an arched panel represents St. Nicholas seated as if presiding over an imaginary audience in the stall of a cathedral choir. Behind him is a panelled screen of stone adorned with a relief of St. John the Baptist and a plinth and part of the shaft of a pillar. With one hand he supports a book, with the other he gesticulates, whilst an angel in buskins to the left raises aloft an episcopal mitre. The forehead is bald, but the temples are covered with grey hair, and a grey beard stands out against the red cape which falls in fine relief on the lawn of a surplice. The red dress of the angel is looped up above the knee, and girdled at the waist with a blue sash, a striped carpet lies on the ground, and near it are the three balls, emblems of the saint's peculiar benevolence. What effect the picture may produce is due rather to warm general toning of a golden shade than to freedom of touch, grandeur of form, or massive contrasts of light and shade. The hand of assistants is betrayed in the uniform velvety surface and feeble modelling of the parts, and it would almost appear as if Schiavone had helped Titian not only to pass judgment on the mosaics of the Zuccati, but to produce some of the pictures which issued from Titian's workshop.* We have seen in the "Europa" and "Antiope" what the master could do when he put

* The "St. Nicholas" is on a panel arched at top, the figure being just under life size. It is much praised by Vasari (xiii. 41) and Ridolfi (Mar. i. 253). It was restored several times, and last by Count Corniani in 1822. (Cicogna, Isc. Ven. iv. 149.) Engraved anonymously. Photographed by Naya. On the pedestal of the seat we read: "TITIANVS P."

forth his strength, and it might occur to us to think that he only exerted himself in these days when pleased with a fancy subject or flattered by a royal commission. But that this was not so is clear from the fine figure of St. Jerom, which was painted in these days for Santa Maria Nuova of Venice, though now exhibited in the Brera of Milan, the "Venus of the Mirror" now at Petersburg, and other works of a cognate nature. The "St. Jerom" of the Brera is the model from which a replica was made for Philip the Second. The "Venus of St. Petersburg" is the original from which repetitions were made for Niccolo Crasso and the King of Spain. We are accustomed to see Titian piling the impaste on his canvases at successive sittings, and kneading the whole at last into a grained surface, toned up with glazings that penetrate into the hollows and tracks of the brush. Here he works off the figure at one painting on panel, using primaries chiefly, and producing almost a monochrome. He then seems to have glazed the surface all over, shaded it deeply with bitumen, and lighted it up here and there with flat tint, breaking the whole at last by notches of pure colour. The result is a broad picture of touch which is quite masterly, though it differs from earlier work by deriving its effect from contrast of light and shade and sweep of brush rather than from sweetness or richness of tint.*

* This picture, in the Brera, is on an arched panel, m. 2.23 h. by 1.33. The figure is a little under life size, bearded, bald, and stringy. At the lion's feet is the signature, "TICIANVS F." A fine, but somewhat faded, original sketch in sepia is in the Dresden Museum, photographed by Braun. The original picture has

The replica sent to Philip the Second is still at the Escorial, where it underwent such an ordeal of repair that the master's hand is apparent in a few places only. But what remains, particularly part of the head, shows how cleverly the canvas was executed.*

The "Venus of St. Petersburg" was an heirloom of Pomponio Vecelli and the Barbarigos. In its original state it must have been a noble creation, of which we can only judge with accuracy now by bits about Cupid's back and the bosom of Venus. No masterpiece of Titian's later time more agreeably combined grandeur of style with perfect harmony of lines and of colour. Venus is seated to the left, part naked, on a striped couch of black and yellow stuff. Round one arm a cherry coloured velvet mantle, with sable lining and edges braided with gold, is twisted, passing underneath the form, and held at the hip with the right hand. The left hand lies on the bosom, whilst the head is turned to look at a mirror held by Cupid. The goddess

been engraved by "N. B. F. S. (? Saiter) Ant° Ucelli a l'arca di Noé;" it is also engraved in the collection of Lefèbre. Titianello's Anonimo (p. 9), Ridolfi (Marav. i. 267), and Zanetti (Pitt. Ven., *u. s.*, p. 169), all note the picture in Santa Maria Nuova at Venice. A small copy of the seventeenth century, ascribed to Titian, is in the gallery of the Academy of San Luca at Rome.

* This picture, we are told by Don José Quevedo (Descripcion del Escorial, 4to, Madrid, 1849), has been restored. It is a square, on canvas. But here the lion is on the left; a large square boulder fills a large part of the background, and the saint's left hand is on a book. Beneath a volume on the right foreground, an inscription is just visible, though illegible. Below, "TITIANVS F."

For a variety of engraved figures of St. Jerom "by Titian," see Sir Abraham Hume's list (Notices, *u. s.*, pp. xxvii, and following). There are two fine drawings of the penitent Jerom, by Titian, in the British Museum; another in the Albertina at Vienna.

wears her golden hair partly brushed in waves from the temples, partly plaited with jewels, a bracelet fastened on one wrist, a chain wound round the other; earrings of pearl adorn her. The winged Cupid who holds the mirror, presents his back to the spectators, and has dropped his quiver and arrows on the couch. A yellow sash falls from his shoulders. Eros, almost a counterpart of Amor in the "Venus of the Uffizi," puts one hand on the shoulder of his mother, and tries with the other to crown her head with a garland of flowers. A brown-green hanging to the left, is ingeniously pitted against a brownish background, and both react upon the crimson of the mantle. The light is cleverly concentrated on Venus, displaying a full and fleshy frame of superb mould. Something of the Asiatic may be traced in the dark eye, the drooping nose, the small nostril, and the richly cut mouth. A noble contrast is produced by the repose of the goddess and the muscular efforts of the Cupids, one of whom seems obliged to stand on tiptoe to reach up to Venus's head, whilst the other staggers under the load of the mirror, which has evidently been detached from a neighbouring wall. The latter is a young Hercules in scantling, and the play of his muscles is admirably given. Not less fine is the projection of shadows, and the reflection in the mirror. The surface is broadly modelled, and notwithstanding all the injuries of time and retouching, we still see that it was impasted repeatedly and with surprising skill before it received the finishing glazing, smirch, and touch. No record has been kept of the fate of the replica sent by Titian

to Philip the Second. We only know that the painter claimed payment for it in 1574. Of all the known copies and adaptations at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, in the Ashburton collection, at Cobham, Dresden, or Augsburg, none is worthy to compare with the Barbarigo heirloom.*

As the year 1563 came to a close, Titian was in active correspondence with the Duke of Urbino in respect of payment for a picture of the Virgin Mary,

* The Barbarigo "Venus with Cupids," is on canvas, No. 99, of the Hermitage Gallery, and m. 1.23 h. by 1.03. It is mentioned by Ridolfi (Mar. i. 262). But since it came off the master's easel it has been rubbed down and repaired in many places; and under the more transparent repaints we still see the original cracks. A good photograph by C. Roettger. The replica belonging to King Philip, described by Titian himself as "Love holding the Mirror to Venus" (see his letter to Antonio Perez, Dec. 22, 1574, in Appendix), is missing. So is the replica painted for Crasso (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 253). Another variety, classed as a school-piece, No. 108 at the Hermitage, canvas, m. 1.31 h. by 1.11, came from the Malmaison collection, and presents both Cupids holding the looking-glass, the Cupid in front having a quiver hanging from a sash round his shoulders. Of this a replica under Titian's name was, till lately, preserved in the collection of Lord Ashburton, which bore somewhat the character of a copy by Contarin or Varottari. At Cobham Hall we have the Venus with one Cupid holding the mirror, a canvas engraved by Leybold, which we trace back to the Orleans and Queen Christine collections. (See Waagen, Treasures, ii. 497, and Campori, Raccolta, p. 342.) Here the hanging is red, and Venus holds Cupid's bow in her right hand. The whole picture is feeble, and a copy, in all but the bow, of a school piece once in the Imperial Gallery of Prague, now numbered 232 in the Dresden Gallery; of which school piece there is a still poorer copy, No. 233, in the same gallery. In the Augsburg Gallery, No. 269, is a canvas almost completely repainted, with Venus and one Cupid as at Dresden; but here Venus, besides wearing the red pelisse, is draped in white, her bed is also white, and Cupid's quiver lies with the bow at his feet. Lithograph by Hanfstängl. There was one of these Venuses "by Titian" in the Granvelle collection. (See Castan, *u. s.*, p. 46.)

sent as a present to some one at Mantua, and as to a series of designs probably intended for the decoration of the palace of Pesaro. A letter written by Titian on the 6th of January, 1564, in reference to these matters, has been published, which almost deserves to be reprinted, as it shows that the great painter and his son Orazio were at this time dealers in timber at Venice, and furnished the Duke of Urbino not only with pictures but with pine planks and logs.*

Amongst the altar-pieces which adorned Venetian churches in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, two by Titian seem to have been worthy of attention—the "Nativity," on the high altar of St. Mark, and the "Last Supper," in the refectory of San Giovanni e Paolo. Not a line in contemporary historians has been found to allude to the first of these masterpieces. The second was registered by Vasari and Ridolfi without a word of praise, probably because they had not seen it.† Both were destroyed by fire in an accidental way. On the 19th of January, 1580, there was high company at mass in San Marco. The Archduke Maximilian, the Prince of Bavaria, and one of the Dukes of Brunswick, on their way to the wedding of the Duke of Ferrara, had been stopping over night in the Casa Dandolo alla Giudecca, and in the monastery of San Giorgio. They came over

* The original is in Lettere d' Illustri Italiani non mai stampati pubblicate da Z. Bicchierai per le nozze Galeotti Cardenas di Valeggio, 8vo, Firenze, 1854, Lemonnier. It is signed "Ser Titiano Vecelli, p.," and addressed to the Duke of Urbino in Pesaro.

† Vasari, xiii. p. 37; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 268.

betimes in the morning to visit the treasury of the cathedral and hear a mass. After the ceremony, one of the lights set fire to a festoon and burnt the "Nativity," by Titian, which was fastened above the altar.*

The day of Saint Marina was kept as an annual festival at Venice after the recovery of Padua in 1509; and the Venetian government, as a matter of precaution, habitually quartered troops in appropriate localities to suppress disturbances, if any should occur.

On that day in 1571, some German soldiers detached to the magazines below the refectory of San Giovanni e Paolo, got drunk and set fire to the monastery, and burnt down the refectory, novitiate, and dormitories with all their contents. We may presume that the "Last Supper" which perished on this occasion, was the original which Titian now copied for Philip of Spain.†

Most of the year 1564 was consumed in correspondence between the painter and the monarch on the subject of this picture, of which—we recollect—Titian had made an offer at the close of 1563. With more wile than we approve, he wrote repeatedly to his patron to say that the "Cena" was finished, though Garcia Hernandez, the king's secretary at Venice, was always in a position to report that the contrary was true. What Titian wanted was payment of his

* Diarii MS. in Cicogna, Iscr. Ven. iv. 333. The picture was "sopra il volto dell' altare."

† "Emortuale de' Padri de' SS. Gio. e Paolo." Codex Extr'. in Cicogna, Isc. Ven. vi. 825.

pension before parting with any more of his works. What Philip could not for a long time compass was this very payment, which was always evaded by his officials.

In a despatch to Hernandez, dated March 8, 1564, a minute of which has been preserved, Philip told his envoy that he had acknowledged the receipt of two letters from Titian, and written to Milan and Naples to press for the payment of the dues. He would be glad to receive the "Last Supper" now that it was finished, and hoped it would be forwarded in good condition to Genoa, from whence it could be sent by galley to Alicant or Carthagena.* The same post took the king's letter to Titian, dated from Barcelona on the 8th of March, under cover to Hernandez with copies of orders of the same day to the Duke of Sessa, governor of Milan, and to the Viceroy of Naples, to settle Titian's claims; and by the same opportunity the minister Perez wrote to the master thanking him for his promise of a Madonna, giving him notice of the despatches sent to Hernandez, and concluding with an assurance that when the "Cena" arrived, he should see that the King sent a suitable acknowledgment.†

Garcia's reply to the King is dated the 16th of

* See the Minute in Appendix.

† All these letters are in Appendix, except that of Perez, which will be found dated Barcelona, March 8, in Ridolfi's Maraviglie, i. 248. It is to be noted that Ridolfi's text gives the initial of the name of Perez as G., whereas there is reason to think the correspondent here is Antonio Perez. See in Appendix, Garcia Hernandez to Antonio Perez, Oct. 9, 1564.

April. He said he had given the King's despatch to Titian, who had been flattered by its reception. Titian would be content to claim his dues from Milan and drop those of Naples, which were antiquated, and of which he as an old man had but an imperfect recollection. The "Last Supper" was not finished as had been stated, but was to be completed, according to promise, in May.* But May came and passed away, and Garcia wrote on the 11th of June to say that Titian was working steadily at the "Cena," which, notwithstanding all his industry, would not now be completed for three months. Titian, he added, had given him a portrait of the Queen of the Romans, to send to his Majesty, and it had been forwarded—well packed—to Don Gabriel della Cueva.†

Titian, it is evident, wished to gain time and give the treasurer of Milan leisure to obey the King's commands. He did not like to offend the King, and sent the portrait of Philip's sister as a sop. His success is shown in the King's answer to Garcia, a letter dated the 15th of July, in which the envoy is bid "to tell Titian that the King liked his diligence in completing the 'Cena' and forwarding the likeness of the Queen his sister."‡

Meanwhile no symptoms of relenting appeared on the part of the King's financial agents. Titian therefore wrote again to Philip on the 5th of August, telling him for the second time that the "Last

* See the letter in Appendix.

† The original is in Appendix.

‡ See the original letter in Appendix. The picture is not known to exist.

Supper" was ready, after seven years of labour, and begging that his Majesty might give command to his ministers to pay his pensions at Milan and in Spain.* This letter was crossed on the road by a despatch of the 15th of July from the King to Garcia Hernandez, stating that Philip was thankful for the diligence used by Titian in completing the "Last Supper" and the portrait of the King's sister.† A second despatch, dated a fortnight later, announced the arrival of the "Queen of the Romans" with other pieces at Madrid, and asked Hernandez to report how Titian was disposed as regarded work, because the King wished him to paint a picture of the "Signor Sant' Lorençio."‡ Later still, on the 20th of September, Philip wrote to express his pleasure to Hernandez that the "Cena" should be ready, adding that orders had been sent to Don Gabriel della Cueva to pay the painter punctually.§ To these letters Hernandez made the following reply:

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"Titian has finished the picture of 'Christ our Lord at the Last Supper,' and on his return from Brescia, where he has been for more than a fortnight, and from whence he is hourly expected, he will give it to me, and I shall send it at once to the ambassador at Genoa. I shall ask Titian to begin the

* Titian to the King of Spain, Aug. 5, 1564, in Ridolfi, Mar. i. 249–51.

† The original is in Appendix.

‡ See the original in Appendix.

§ The original is in Appendix.

'St. Lawrence,' as he is well able to work, since in order to get money he has gone from here to Brescia.

"Your Majesty's, &c.,

"G. HERNANDEZ.

"*From* VENICE, *October* 8, 1564."

Much more fully and with a clear insight into the character of Titian in his old age, the Spanish envoy wrote to his minister at Madrid.

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO ANTONIO PEREZ.

"ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR,

"I received the letter of your Magnificence dated the 1st ultimo enclosing one for Titian, which I gave and read to his son, Titian himself being absent from the city, though expected home hourly. I shall tell him when he comes, that your Magnificence has communicated with me as to the picture which he sent to Francisco Dolfin, now in glory, respecting which indeed nothing further need be said, since Titian is content that your Magnificence should make use of it as you have written. The 'Christ at the Last Supper' which has been finished for his Majesty is a marvel, and one of the best things that Titian has done, as I am told by masters of the art, and by all who have seen the composition. Though it is done, and I was to have had it on the 15th of September for the purpose of forwarding it to Genoa, he said, when I sent for it, that he would finish it on his return, and then give it to me, which I suspect is due to his covetousness and avarice, which make

him keep it back, and may continue to do so, till the King's despatch arrives ordering payment to be made. If on his return he does not give up the canvas, I shall consider this the true cause, yet still try to obtain it, and make him begin the 'St. Lawrence.' For though he is old he works and can still work, and if there were but money forthcoming we should get more out of him than we could expect from his age; seeing that for the sake of earning he went from hence to Brescia to look at the place in which he has to set certain pictures just ordered of him. Your Magnificence will ask H. M. to settle with Titian respecting that of which so much has been written, as I fear it may not be done, and if your Magnificence should like some little things from the master's hand, this would be a fitting and easy opportunity. In a monastery of this city there is a picture of 'St. Lawrence,' done by Titian many years ago, of the size and style of which your letter speaks. The friars have told me that they would give it for 200 scudi, and it could be copied for 50 scudi by Geronimo Titiano, a relative or pupil who has been in Titian's house more than thirty years, and is considered the next best after him, though he does not come up to him; and if his Majesty should like these they could be had more quickly. I beg your Magnificence to advise me as to this.

"Half of the ebony pictures are ready, and the rest will soon be done also... The three lamps are likewise finished.... I have been out with my surgeon and two apothecaries looking for rhubarb, but there is not a

dram equal to sample to be had in all Venice, but if any should be found it will go with this; if not, I shall send of the best till the arrival of the genuine article from the Levant. But all this requires money, and I have none . . . and if H. Majᵛ. does not command that the dealers here and there be paid, I do not know what I shall do. . .

"I kiss the hands of yʳ. Magᵉ., and remain most certainly your Servant,

"GARCIA HERNANDEZ.*

"*From* VENICE, *October* 8, 1564."

A week after this the envoy wrote to Philip to tell him that Titian had returned, and the "Last Supper" would be ready "in eight or ten days." Titian would then begin the "St. Lawrence," from which he would not remove his hands till all was done; but Titian "begged that his Majesty would condescend to order that he should be paid what was due to him from the court and from Milan, as Don Gabriel de la Cueva had not done so, as he had been bidden." For the rest the painter was in fine condition, and quite capable of work, and this was the time, if ever, to get "other things" from him, as according to some people who knew him, Titian was about 90 years old, though he did not show it, and for money everything was to be had of him.†

Titian, it would seem from these letters, was fairly justified in withholding his picture, for which it was

* The original is in Appendix.

† See G. Hernandez to Philip the Second, Oct. 15, 1564, in Appendix.

clear the payment was doubtful. He knew well enough the men with whom he had to deal, and was probably quite aware that he could secure the favour of Antonio Perez with "*algunas cosillas de su mano.*" The King, who was favoured with a *précis* of Garcia's letters of the 8th and 15th of October, wrote laconic notes to them in the margin:

"Orders have been sent to Milan to make the payment; and as to matters here, I don't know how they stand."

"The picture should be bought from Titian's relative for 50 ducats."

"Titian's should not be taken unless it differed from the first, for then there would be two instead of one."

"All that had been done as to the 'ebony carved work' and lamps I approve."

"As to the rhubarb I know nothing."*

According to these communications, Titian had been travelling professionally to Brescia in search of money; and this was true in so far as it appears that he had been asked to undertake an important commission, and had received a large retainer. In 1563, Cristoforo Rosa had contracted to decorate the vaulting of the great hall in the public palace of Brescia, and in February, 1564, had begun his labours. But the principal ornament of the place was intended to consist of three octagonal canvases filling spaces in a large square ceiling; and it had been thought worthy

* The original is in Appendix.

of Brescia to employ as composer of these canvases the best painter of the Venetian states. A contract was accordingly drawn up and signed, in the presence of Cristoforo Rosa, on the 3rd of October, in which Titian agreed "to paint three pieces in the cube of the ceiling of the palace of Brescia with such figures and histories as the deputies of the town should designate, at a price to be determined by a taxing commission after the completion of the work," and in the meanwhile an earnest of performance was given by preliminary payment of an advance of 150 ducats.*

We shall presently see that Titian at last obtained some portion of his dues from Milan, though the Lombard treasurers, like some usurers, cashed their bills in kind. Meantime the "Last Supper" was forwarded to its destination, and in due course reached the Escorial, where immediate preparations were made to hang it in the great refectory. Unhappily, it is said, the wall of this apartment was not as large as the canvas of Titian, and after short deliberation it was resolved that the picture should be cut down; but this resolution had scarcely been taken when it was made perceptible to a deaf and dumb artist, "the Titian of Spain," Juan Fernandez Navarrete, at that time employed in the monastery, who made energetic protest against the mutilation, and begged hard for permission to make a copy. In spite of his protest, summary execution was performed upon the famous

* The original contract is in Zamboni (B.) Memorie intorno alle pubbliche Fabbriche . . . della Città di Brescia, fol. Bresc. 1778.

work of Titian.* And it is hardly credible, though undeniably apparent, even now, that the monks cut off a large piece of the upper part of Titian's canvas, leaving the architectural background in a mutilated state. We can fancy Navarrete witnessing this vandalism with the utmost disgust, and accompanying it "with the most distressing attitudes and distortions." But mutilation is not the only damage inflicted on the picture. It has been so frequently repainted that little or none of the original colour is left on the surface, and all that the spectator can now enjoy is the grouping and distribution. Paul Veronese composed the "Feast in the House of Levi," now in the Venice Academy, to replace the "Last Supper," burnt down in the fire of San Giovanni e Paolo. He naturally challenges comparison with Titian at the Escorial. Both artists have qualities which enable them to impart grandeur to the subjects which they represent; both set the scene in monumental architecture; both give to their episodes that "condiment" of realism which a French critic would call "*actualité*." But Titian, though his thought is deformed and lamed by accident, still shows more elevation and dignity than his younger and now more active rival. The cloth is laid in a vast hall with an arched opening at each of its sides. The rays of the Holy Ghost fall on the head of Christ as he sits at the centre of the board, where his form is relieved against the landscape seen through the opening beyond. His

* This anecdote, copied from Cean Bermudez, is in Northcote's Life of Titian, *u. s.*, i. 349–50.

right arm stretches over the table, his left is on the shoulder of St. John Evangelist, who bends with melancholy before him. The *dramatis personæ* are naturally grouped behind and round the ends of a long table, under which a dog is gnawing a bone. To the right the foremost figure is that of Judas in the act of rising from his seat, the purse half hid in his fingers. The traitor looks round as if suspecting his next companion, who leans over and supports himself with one hand on the cloth whilst pointing at the Saviour with the other. To the right of both, a man in profile is eating; another faces the spectators, and nearer the centre, two more have their eyes fixed on Judas. Here, too, the arms of a servant carrying a dish project from the opening of the arched doorway. On the Saviour's right the disciples grouped in threes are communing with each other; one in front, to the left, seated in converse with his neighbour, to whom a word is spoken by a turbaned man in rear, above whose head the base of a statue is visible on a bracket. On the floor a vase is lying near a shallow bowl, out of which a partridge is drinking. The finest group in the whole picture is that of three apostles on the Redeemer's right, one of whom appears surprised, whilst another, forgetting the cup in his hand, stretches his frame and face towards Christ; the third leaning over and resting his hand on the shoulder of the second. There flashed on Titian's mind when he composed this group some reminiscences of Da Vinci's "Last Supper," which he doubtless saw so often during his visits to Milan. There are parts, for in-

stance the profile of the apostle leaning over the end of the board, and the bare arm of Judas, which are in fair preservation, and show the superb breadth of modelling and kneading of pigment peculiar to Titian in his later days. The rest is seen more or less to disadvantage, for the causes already assigned. Seven years Titian admits he laboured at this great picture. How often during this time may he not have impasted and reimpasted the figures, then forsaken the canvas and impasted it again, before he ventured on the last glazings and touches? We can still realise to ourselves, in fancy, how he did this, modelling the forms at first in primaries, correcting, strengthening, and tinting the whole at last to its final gorgeous richness.* An unfinished copy of this vast piece in a Venetian palace in the sixteenth century tells of Titian's connection with a painter named Stefano, who may be identified as Stefano Rosa, the relative of Christopher Rosa, who witnessed the contract for the ceiling canvases at Brescia.† It is not known what became of this work. But other copies exist in the collections of Lord Ellesmere and Lord Overstone, which prove the original form of this vast composition and the value assigned to it.‡

* The picture contains thirteen full lengths of life size. It is still in its original place, signed on the bowl out of which the partridge is drinking, "TITIANVS F." A print of the picture exists, by C. Cort.

† Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 56. The picture was in the Casa Pasqualino at Venice, and is described as having been "begun by Titian and finished by Stefano."

‡ In the Bridgwater collection, No. 87, is a copy from the "Last Supper" at the Escorial, properly assigned to Andrea Schiavone. But here a high window is sub-

Titian's reward and the beginning of fresh labours on the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" are noted in the following letter:

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST POTENT AND INVINCIBLE KING,

"Malignant fortune obliges me to recur to your Majesty, whose infinite goodness as a munificent patron to a devoted servant may assist and favour me, in spite of destiny. Some days since, wishing to recover from the Chamber of Milan the rest of my ordinary pension, I had an amount equal to some years' pay retained from me, which caused me great inconvenience; besides which, the remnant assigned to me was forwarded in the shape of a warrant for rice, by which I was put to a loss in discount of more than a hundred ducats. I therefore apply to your Majesty to vouchsafe that orders should be issued for making good the loss I have sustained, so that, having no other salary, I may be able to live in the service of your Majesty with that small sum which the glorious memory of Cæsar, your Majesty's Sire, and your

stituted for the arching behind the Redeemer.

The copy in Lord Overstone's collection is small, and described as an original sketch (Waagen, Treasures, Supplement, p. 142). But as to this, which is open to contradiction, the authors would like to reserve their opinion. Meantime it is important to notice that here we have the whole composition as it was thought over by Titian. The space above the table is much larger. The arching of the door behind Christ is complete. The pillars rise to the height of the entablature, and the statues on brackets at both ends are entire. It might be that this small copy, in which Titian's composition appears without mutilation, is the work of Navarrete.

Majesty's self conceded to me. I shall await the effect of the infinite kindness of my most clement King, and meanwhile proceed to finish the picture of the *beato* Lorenzo, which, I believe, will be to the satisfaction of your Majesty, to whom, &c.,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *July* 18, 1565."

Whilst it is clear from this epistle that the master had not as yet laid hands upon the "St. Lawrence," it is equally clear from the tenor of a correspondence which he had in August with the Brescian agents, that he had not begun the canvas of the town hall. The Brescians spent six months in choosing the promised subjects; and it was not till the 20th of August that Titian wrote to acknowledge the receipt of them.

In September he went to spend the autumn at Cadore, and there he planned the decoration of the church of the Pieve with frescoes and mosaics, which, it was understood, were to be carried out by pupils from his designs.† On his return to Venice in December, we find him renewing acquaintance by letter with his old friend and protector Beccadelli, who had now become Bishop of Ravello.‡

What the master's labours may have been during this interval has not been reported by chroniclers.

* The original is in Appendix.

† Several of these pupils were then with him at Cadore. Valerio Zuccati, Emmanuel of Augsburg, and Cesare Vecelli, witnessed the deed appointing Fausto Vecelli to be a notary on the 1st of October. Compare Ticozzi Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 238.

‡ The original is in Herman Grimm's Kunst und Künstler, 8vo, Berlin, 1867, ii. pp. 165–6.

But there is circumstantial testimony to show that Titian had completed two canvases at least—the "Transfiguration" and the "Annunciation"—in the church of San Salvadore at Venice; and there is reason to think that the figure of "St. James of Compostella" in San Lio of Venice and the "Education of Cupid" in the Borghese Palace at Rome were produced about this time.

Titian only once designed the "Transfiguration," and that, as we see, in extreme old age, yet his composition of the subject is very telling. Christ is just leaving the earth, which he still touches with the right foot. He rises from the ground with outstretched arms, looking up to heaven, as the three apostles, awe-struck and half-recumbent, watch him from the foreground. Moses on the left with the Tables, Elias on the right, are powerful but somewhat unwieldy figures, in which we discern the coarser execution of the master's disciples, and particularly the shallow technical handling of Marco Vecelli. Oily pigment superficially blended and a marked deficiency of bold contrast between lights and shadows, are unmistakable evidence of this. But in spite of these drawbacks, the canvas is remarkable for the richness of its toning; and Titian's genius in realizing forcible, almost majestic, movement is undeniable.*

* The "Transfiguration" is mentioned by Vasari (xiii. 37); and Ridolfi says (i. 267) that it had already suffered in his day from retouching. It is a canvas with figures of life size, covering a "*pala*" of chiselled silver, forming the ornament of the high altar. The general tone is low, and the surface is injured by partial repainting and bad varnish. The picture is engraved.

The "Annunciation" on a neighbouring altar of the same church is carried out with bold skill and surprising mastery of means. The old painter is now on the verge of 90, yet his power and inventiveness are in some respects greater than they were in earlier days. He repeats a theme often studied and thought over, and his mature experience suggests to him a treatment as ingenious as it is new. Four angels and numerous cherubs flutter about the dove, the rays of which are darting towards the head of Mary. The Virgin, who had been kneeling at her book on a desk, turns round suddenly and displays a face lost in astonishment, the features of which express timidity making way for fortitude. She raises with her right hand the veil that covers her hair and floats about her form, and directs her glance sharply at the winged angel who comes in bowing to the left, with both arms crossed over his breast. With the other hand she still grasps the book as if it were part of herself and not to be lost for a moment. The type is not that which belongs to a shrinking and youthful girl. It recalls in some measure that of the "Magdalen" or of the "Venus" at Petersburg or the Borghese Palace, but it is still so elevated and impressed with so much dignity and character, that nothing more than the mould of the face suggests a point in common with these creatures of another world of thought, whilst the grandeur attained brings the painter as near to Michaelangelo in conception as it was possible for Titian to come. The life which bubbles out so gaily in the quick movement and gleeful joy of the angels,

and the graceful action of Gabriel; the charm which lies in bright hues of drapery, the beauty of the grouping in the glory; the sheen of wings in radiant atmosphere, and the splendid contrasts of light and shade and deep harmonious colour, all combine to fetter attention in the highest measure, and this impression is but enhanced by masterly treatment, though it be but that of a man whose hand and eye are no longer apt for detail, but confine themselves to broad and sweeping dashes and planes of pigment. Well might Titian feel offended at the reproach that the picture so composed and executed should not have satisfied the purchasers, and we cannot but approve the energetic answer of the artist to the ignorance of his judges when he wrote beneath the foreground, "TITIANVS FECIT FECIT." Curiously enough Vasari, who described this piece and its companion in 1566, declared that Titian held both in slight esteem, adding that he himself thought them inferior to other works of Titian. But if this were true, how could we account for the anecdote which tells of Titian's indignation, and how explain the double "fecit" thrown by the master on the canvas? We may believe that Vasari on this occasion confounded the "Transfiguration" with the "Annunciation," and applied to both the opinion which Titian only applied to the first.*

* This picture is also on canvas, with figures large as life. It is mentioned by Vasari (xiii. 37) and all the guides and historians of Venetian art. On the floor, above Titian's signature, we read, "IGNIS ARDENS NON COMBVRENS." Between the angel and Virgin a view of a landscape is seen through a door. Here also the colours are dimmed, perhaps on account of excessive

St. James of Compostella receiving the ray from heaven, whilst the Baptist kneels in the distance, is a life-sized figure in San Lio, which might vie with those of the church of San Salvadore, if time and restoring had not almost obliterated the master's work. The walking movement, the tender upturned face, the hand on the breast, express feeling without the affectation of the Peruginesques, and the lines are of that grand boldness which surprises afresh in every work of Titian.*

Superb in another form, though quite in a different scale of tone, is the "Cupid and Venus" of the Borghese Palace, a canvas of which the original thought is transparent enough, though modern criticism was too careless to detect it. Not the three Graces disarming Cupid we should think, but Venus and two Graces teaching Cupid his vocation, is the subject depicted. The Queen of Love is seated in front of a gorgeous red-brown drapery; her head is crowned with a diadem, and her luxuriant hair falls in heavy locks on her neck. Her arms are bare, but her tunic is bound with a sash, which meets in a cross at the bosom and winds away under the arms, whilst a

use of bitumen in shadows and glazings. Engraved by C. Cort.

* This is an arched canvas, on the last altar to the left, in San Lio. A piece has been added to the right side and base of the picture, in the foreground of which there are traces of the master's name. In the distance to the left, bounded by hills, a knight is seated. The saint is bare-headed and bare-legged, with a green rag about his ancles. In his right hand the pilgrim's staff; his dress is red and yellow. (Compare Tizianello's Anon., p. 9; Sansov. Ven. desc., p. 42; and Boschini, Min. Sest. di Castello, p. 34.) The surface was injured by time, and then repainted in many places. The tones are heavy and opaque in consequence.

flap of a blue mantle crosses the knees. With both hands she is binding the eyes of Eros leaning on her lap, whilst she turns to listen to the whispering of another Eros resting on her shoulder. A girl, with naked throat and arm, carries Cupid's quiver, whilst a second holds his bow. Behind the group a sky overcast with pearly clouds lowers over a landscape of hills. There are reminiscences here that take us back more than twenty years to the allegory of Davalos at the Louvre, or to similar "poesies" at Vienna, but how different is the treatment! Let us recall the days of the "Tribute Money," when it was of little consequence whether one saw the master's work at a distance or not. Near it the smallest details could be detected, losing themselves in the mass as one drew back. Now a near view presents a medley of patches of impasted pigment, red, blue and black interspersed with grey, and no contour or minuteness of any kind. But if we retire to the focal distance the reality itself is before us. The figures look plastic. Light plays upon every part, creating as it falls a due projection of shadow, producing all the delicacies of broken tone and a clear silvery surface full of sparkle, recalling those masterpieces of Paolo Veronese in which the gradations are all in the cinerine as opposed to the golden key.*

* This picture is mentioned by Ridolfi as belonging to Prince Borghese (Marav. i. 257), who thus possessed two allegories, executed at the two extremes of Titian's career: "Artless and Sated Love," and the "Education of Cupid." The canvas, with half-lengths large as life, is well preserved. It shows on that account

During the winter leisure of 1565–66, Titian devoted some of his time to the superintendence of Cornelius Cort and Niccolò Boldrini, whom he employed to engrave some of his rarest and most popular pieces. He sent a petition to the Council of Ten praying for a monopoly of the publication of these prints, and a patent to that effect was issued to him in February of 1566.* In this manner there came into circulation the "St. Jerom," the "Perseus and Andromeda," the "Trinity," the Barbarigo "Magdalen," the "Annunciation" of San Salvadore, a second version of the "St. Jerom," "Sisyphus," "Prometheus," and several other compositions, a selection of which having been presented to Dominick Lampsonius at Liège, produced that fulsome letter which Gaye has published, praising Titian as the best landscape painter of the age.† In January two of the Brescian canvases were so far advanced that the envoy of that municipality at Venice was enabled to congratulate his government on their approaching completion.‡ Shortly afterwards the Spanish envoy Hernandez wrote to Philip the Second, to tell him that the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" would be finished in the following Lent.§ But we hardly

how well the pictures of Titian's old age could look when he chose. This picture has been engraved in a plate marked L. Bo. Ba^rus f. Romae, engraved by F. Vanden Wyngaerde and Robert Strange.

* Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, pp. 9 & 65.

† D. Lampson. to Titian, Liège, March 13, 1567, in Gaye's Carteggio, iii. p. 242.

‡ Zamboni, *u. s.*

§ See Philip the Second to Garcia Hernandez, March 26, 1566, acknowledging the receipt of that of Hernandez, in Appendix.

require the evidence of contemporary correspondence at this period, to realize the picture of Titian's industry. Vasari, who had been preparing a new edition of his Lives in the spring of 1566, had become impressed with the necessity of revisiting the principal cities of Italy, and had left Rome for Venice on the 17th of April. In the short space of a month, he travelled by way of Narni, Terni and Spoleto to Tolentino, Macerata, and Loretto, thence by Ancona, Rimini, and Ravenna, to Bologna. From Bologna he passed on to Modena, Parma, Piacenza, and through Pavia to Milan. On the 10th of May at Lodi, he visited in successive days Cremona, Brescia, and Mantua, and after spending a few hours at Padua and Vicenza, he reached Venice on the 21st, returning to Ferrara on his way home on the 27th of May.* In this short visit of four or five days he saw Titian, of whom he wrote after his return in terms judicious if not enthusiastic, as follows:

"Titian has enjoyed health and happiness unequalled, and has never received from heaven anything but favour and felicity. His house has been visited by all the princes, men of letters and gentlemen who ever came to Venice. Besides being excellent in art, he is pleasant company, of fine deportment and agreeable manners. He has had rivals in Venice, but none of any great talent. His earnings have been large, because his works were always well paid; but it would have been well for him if in these the later

* See Vasari's own letters in Gaye, iii. 210 to 219.

years of his life he had only laboured for a pastime, in order not to lose, by works of declining value, the reputation gained in earlier days. When Vasari, writer of this history, came to Venice in 1566, he went to pay a visit to Titian as to a friend, and he found him, though very aged, with the brushes in his hand painting, and had much pleasure in seeing his pictures and conversing with him; and there, too, he met Gian' Maria Verdizotti, a Venetian gentleman, a young man full of talent, friend of Titian and a good painter and designer, as he proved in some fine landscapes of his own execution. This gentleman owns of Titian, whom he loves as a father, two figures in oil of Apollo and Diana, each in a niche.* Titian having decorated Venice and indeed Italy and other parts of the world with admirable pictures, deserves to be loved and studied by artists, as one who has done and is still doing works deserving of praise, which will last as long as the memory of illustrious men." †

Proceeding in another place to describe some of the things which he saw in Titian's dwelling, Vasari further says:

"He lately sent a 'Last Supper' to the Catholic king, which was seven braccia in length and of great beauty. Besides the many pieces already described, and others of less price which brevity commands us to neglect, the following in his house are sketched out and begun:—

* These figures are not to be found. † Vas. xiii. 45.

The "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," similar to one already described.

"The Crucifixion," with Christ on the cross and the thieves and executioners below, which is ordered by Messer Giovanni Danna.

A picture ordered for Doge Grimani, father of the Patriarch of Aquileia.

Three large canvases for the ornament of the ceiling of the great Palazzo of Brescia.

A picture of a nude female bending before Minerva, with another figure at her side, and a view of the sea, where Neptune is seen on his car. This piece was begun long ago, but left unfinished when Alfonzo, Duke of Ferrara, who ordered it, passed to another life.

"Christ appearing to the Magdalen in the Garden," a picture much advanced but not finished.

"The Virgin and the Marys and the dead Christ lowered into the Sepulchre."

A Virgin, which is one of his better things.

A portrait done four years ago of himself, very fine and natural.

"St. Paul Reading," who seems filled with the Holy Spirit.*

The history of Titian's portrait remained, as we saw, obscure.† The "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" was sent to Spain, the Brescian canvases to Brescia, after the lapse of one or two years; whilst the "Entombment" was despatched to Madrid in 1572 as a present

* Vas. xiii. 43–4. † See *antea*.

from the Venetian government to Antonio Perez.* The picture ordered for the Doge Grimani is probably the "Fede" now in the public palace of Venice. "St. Paul," "The Crucifixion," and "Christ appearing to the Magdalen," it has not been possible to trace. The allegory composed for Alfonzo of Ferrara, unexplained in the pages of Vasari, remains equally inexplicable if we look at the picture still unfinished in the private apartments of the Doria Palace at Rome. A goddess or genius with a red banner in her left hand, supporting with her right a shield of hexagonal shape, stands proudly on a seashore, attended by a female bearing an unsheathed sword; at her feet lie the emblems of war, a flag, a helmet, breastplate, and arrow. In front to the right, and in a bending attitude, a nude woman stands before a tree stump, on which seven serpents are coiled, at the foot of which there lies a broken stone, the wafer of the Host and an overturned chalice. In the distance a god drives his car through the waters. The key to this obscure allegory may possibly be found by some ingenious admirer of this class of pictorial subjects. The mode in which it is treated is of more interest to the student of Titian's life. Unhappily the sketchy forms which appear on this canvas have apparently been taken up by Titian's disciples, and though still unfinished the figures show little, if any, of the grandeur of form and features or contour, and none of the dexterity of handling which characterised the master in his middle

* See *antea*.

period. The nude female, which most recalls Titian, has been draped in a sketchy white drapery of modern air, and the picture as a whole is quite disappointing, both as regards conception and execution.* At some unknown period of his life Titian produced an allegorical composition of the same kind, which came into the gallery of the Escorial, and then found its way into the Madrid Museum. Here the goddess with the standard is followed by a band of female defenders. The shield which she supports bears the arms of Spain, and the car in the distance is driven by a Turk and pursued by the galleys of the Christians. But even here we hardly see the unadulterated treatment of Titian, and the picture betrays the assistance of the master's disciples.†

During Vasari's stay in Tuscany, in the autumn of 1566, and but a few months after he had occasion to see the pictures of which we have seen the description, a letter was forwarded from Venice to Florence, and opened there in due form. That letter contained

* At the feet of the bending naked figure we read, "D. TITIANO." It is a mistake of the Madrid Museum Catalogue to say that the shield of the goddess is emblazoned with the arms of Doria; it is altogether bare. Besides the repainted drapery of the nude figure, there are other parts of the picture which have suffered from retouching.

† Madrid Museum, No. 476, canvas, m. 1.68 square. The picture is signed with the dubious inscription, "TITIANUS F." It was in the Palace of Pardo in 1614 (Madrazo's Madrid Cat., p. 681), and before that in the Escorial. A similar subject, called "Virtue and Peace defending Religion," was engraved by Julius Fontana (not seen), after Titian; but Ridolfi (Mar. i. 242) gives the subject of the print as "Religion persecuted by Heresy," and heresy is described in an inscription as "anguicoma."

a joint application from Titian and his colleagues in art to be admitted members of the Tuscan Academy of Painting. The letter was laid before the council of that body, and answered immediately. Without a dissentient voice there were registered on the lists of the Florentine Academy: Andrea Palladio, Joseph Salviati, Danese Cattaneo, Battista Zelotti (Veronese), Tintoretto, and Titiano Vecellio.*

* Vas. xiii. 183, and see the entry in the books of the Academy, printed in the chronology of Titian, in Vasari, xiii. 67.

CHAPTER IX.

Titian is taxed for his Income.—His Relations with Picture Dealers and Collectors.—Strada the Antiquary.—Final Correspondence with Urbino and the Farnese.—Frescos at Pieve di Cadore.—The "Nativity."—"Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" at the Escorial.—Canvases of the Town Hall at Brescia, and Quarrel as to the Payment for them.—The second "Christ of the Tribute Money."—Death of Sansovino.—"Lucretia and Tarquin."—"Battle of Lepanto," and Pictures illustrative of that Encounter.—Titian's Allegory of Lepanto.—"Christ Derided" at Munich.—Exalted Visitors at Biri Grande.—Titian's List of Pictures.—His last Letter to Philip the Second. The Plague at Venice.—Titian's last Masterpiece.—His Death.—Titian's Pictures: Genuine, Uncertified, and Missing.

ONE of the earliest privileges conferred on Titian had been an exemption from the income tax, valued in an official record at about eighteen to twenty ducats a year.* In 1566 this privilege was withdrawn, and Titian was asked for the first time in his life to furnish an estimate of his property. In obedience to an order of the council of Pregadi he declared on the 28th of June that he lived at San Canciano, in the house of the magnificent Madonna Polani, paying a clear annual rent for his dwelling of sixty-two ducats. His income he stated to be about one hundred and one ducats, derived from various sources. The cottage at Cadore, in which Francesco Vecelli his brother had lived, produced, as he protested, nothing but a load of

* See *antea*, i. p. 162.

hay, which was the produce of an adjoining meadow. There were fields belonging to him in various parts of the Cadorine territory, two saw mills at Ansogne, let for twenty-four ducats each, but involving charges for embanking the Piave, a meadow near Ansogne, of which the Piave swallowed up a fragment every summer, and a field with a cottage at Col di Manza in the district of Serravalle. At Milaré, he continued, he had eighteen fields; near Serravalle, two fields with a cottage and a house, and a small meadow, and a mortgage yielding interest at the rate of a "stara" of wheat. In Conegliano he owned a cottage, for which he paid a ground rent of three lire a year to the brotherhood of Sant' Antonio.* Not a word in this income return of the proceeds of the Sanseria, the pension from Milan and Spain, the timber yard at the Zattere, or the profits of the sale of his numerous pictures. The canny old man was a master in concealing his wealth. He dwelt complacently on "the smallness of his receipts and the difficulty of maintaining his family," at the very time when the municipality of Cadore was sending him word that they were ready to receive his pupils, who were to begin the frescos at the Pieve, which were to bring him in two hundred ducats;† at the very time when he was dealing with Strada, a Mantuan "antiquary" who purchased pictures, prints and old sculpture for the Emperor Albert the Fifth of Bavaria.

About the middle of the 16th century, the trade in

* See the income return in Cadorin, Dello Amore, p. 90.

† The minutes and letters of June 18 and July 2 are in Ticozzi, *u. s.*, pp. 318–19.

pictures and works of old and modern art was actively carried on by dealers in connection with living artists and commission agents of various kinds. The buyers were usually kings and princes, cardinals, noblemen, and patricians. The sellers were impoverished descendants of great houses, or spendthrift sons of old families, who parted secretly with heirlooms to fill their purses, lightened "by play and betting and women."* Jacob Strada, a clever judge of art in the service of the Emperor, from whom he had received the title of "Cæsarian antiquary," was the chief agent in transactions of this kind during the latter half of the century in North Italy, his aiders and abettors being the Fuggers on one hand, and half a dozen of subordinate dealers and brokers on the other, of whom Niccolò Stoppio, Bernardo Olgiate, and J. P. Castellino were the cleverest or the most successful. In the same line of business as Strada, but with less professional versatility, were the sculptors Alessandro Vittoria and Leone Leoni, the engraver Æneas Vico, and now and then Titian, whose name crops up occasionally in connection with the sale of relics of the olden time. Of the wealth of art which lay concealed in Venice and North Italy during these days we have an idea when we turn the pages of the "Anonimo," edited by Morelli. There were "studios" in every one of the principal cities, at Venice, in the Cornaro and Odoni palaces, in the houses of the

* Niccolò Stoppio to Max Fugger, Venice, June, 1567, in Quellenschriften, *u. s.*, p. 53. (Dr. J. Stockbauer's Kunstbestrebungen am Bayrischen Hof.)

Pasqualini, Contarini, Marcelli, Foscarini, Zios, Veniers, Loredanos, Grimani; at Padua, in the palaces of the Bembos, Mantovas and Cornaros. In some instances, the greatest pains had been taken to secure the preservation of heirlooms in the shape of antiques, pictures, and medals by testamentary disposition, and Cardinal Bembo amongst others had left his museum to his son Torquato on the clear understanding that it should never be dispersed. But Torquato secretly disposed of the best pieces from time to time, so that he had parted with some of his treasures to Strada and Stoppio before 1567, and sold almost all his father's collection by 1583.* Under similar circumstances at the same period an heir of the Loredanos at Venice was parting piecemeal with the heirlooms of his family, the Vendramins were offering their gallery for sale, the Mantovas of Padua were prepared to give up some of their best rarities, and the heirs of Giulio Romano at Mantua were making money of the antiques which that painter had brought together with so much trouble and expense.†

Titian's connection with the "antiquaries" and their following of agents and adventurers is casually illustrated in the correspondence of Niccolò Stoppio, an Italian of the class of Daniel Nys, the celebrated dealer who purchased the Mantuan collection for Charles the First of England. It was Stoppio who

* See E. Basso to Niccolò Gaddi, Rome, May 6, 1583, in Bottari, *u.s.*, iii. 291; Stoppio to Fugger, Aug. 1, 1567, in Stockbauer, *u. s.*, p. 55; and Strada's accounts, also in Stockbauer, p. 32.

† Stockbauer, *u. s.*

sent Cort's prints of Titian's pictures to Lambert Lombard at Liège.* It was Stoppio who negotiated with the Duke of Bavaria for the sale of a casket then in the hands of Titian.

On the 17th of August, 1567, Stoppio wrote to the Duke: "His friend Carlo della Serpa, once high chamberlain to Pope Julius the Second, had a silver-gilt casket set with crystals, for which the Venetian government were bidding 1200 crowns. For this price Serpa was unwilling to sell his treasure, but had transferred it to Titian, with instructions not to part with it except for ready money." The Duke's inclination to make the purchase is shown by the following note from the factor of the Fuggers, David Ott, at Venice, who wrote in September:

"I spoke with Titian about the crystal casket, telling him that your Highness wished it forwarded at your expense. I gave him to understand that it should be paid at the rate of 1000 ducats, or sent back if your Highness did not like it. Titian wanted 1000 golden crowns, but he accepted your Highness's offer at last, and I now await an opportunity to despatch the casket."

To this the Duke replied that he saw no objection, but that he would not take the responsibility of accidents or breakage on the road. Titian should be asked to send the piece at the Duke's cost, but at his own risk; upon this point Ott had an interview with Orazio, which Stoppio described as a squabble:

* See *antea*, and Lampson to Titian, March 13, 1567, in Gaye, Carteg°, iii. 242.

"The 'crystal casket,'" he said, "was placed this day in David Ott's hands. I wish you could have heard the quarrel between Carlo Serpa and Titian's son as to the form of delivery. They chaffered so long that neither of them could speak. It is hard to deal with such curious people."

On the 3rd of November, 1567, the parties agreed to a declaration, in which Ott acknowledged the receipt of the casket in presence of two witnesses, and elected to send it at his risk, promising to return it or pay 1000 ducats on that day six weeks.*

When Max Fugger, in December, 1567, took occasion to disparage Stoppio's skill as a judge of art, Stoppio retorted with the statement that his judgment was approved by a man of the celebrity of Titian.† Stoppio died in February, 1570, and his property was impounded by his creditors. Amongst the goods seized, there were pieces purchased for the Duke of Bavaria. Francesco Brachieri, who inherited Stoppio's business, claimed these pieces, and wrote that he would take Titian with him to value them. In 1571, Brachieri bought crystals, corals, and knick-knacks for his patron, and Titian made the necessary advances in cash.‡

In 1566, before Strada took his final departure from Italy to enter the Duke of Bavaria's service at Munich, and just before he transferred his agency to Stoppio,

* Stockbauer, *u. s.*; Quellenschriften, *u. s.*, pp. 92, 93.

† Stoppio to Fugger in Stockbauer, Quellenschr. viii. 62.

‡ Ibid. pp. 66 & 69.

he sat to Titian, who painted that clever though sketchy portrait of which Boschini wrote:

> "Ma sora il tuto quel del Antiquario:
> Perche trà i beli de quel bel' erario
> El porta el vanto, e rende stupefati." *

Early in the seventeenth century, this portrait came into the gallery of the Archduke Leopold of Austria at Brussels, passing after his death into the Imperial collection, and now adorning the Belvedere. Strada is now sixty years of age. He stands behind a table over which he leans, and supports with both hands a small statue of Venus. As he raises it he turns his face to the right, speaking, one might think, to some invisible person. His beard is slightly grey, his hair cut short, round his neck is the chain of an aulic councillor, and the sword of a "Hofrath" is belted to his waist. Over the red doublet which takes white reflections from the light projected into the room, a black pelisse lies on his shoulders displaying a picturesque long-haired lamb's wool collar. A high console behind the figure is weighted with books of reference, the green table cloth is partly concealed by a fragment of a torso, two gold and four silver medals, and a letter addressed "Il Mag^{co} Sig^{or} Sig^{or} Titia. . . Vecelli. . . Ven. . ." In spite of abrasion and a partial repainting of the right side of the face, we see one of those clever pieces of execution on coarse rough ground which is so characteristic of Titian in these days. The grain of the canvas is ingeniously concealed in the flesh parts

* Boschini, Carta del Navegar. p. 40.

by impasted pigment chilled to a glossy smoothness, and finished with an unctuous scumble in which we distinguish the light track of a soft brush, the smudge created by an application of the thumb, and the notch produced with the butt of the pencil. The dress, more scantily impasted, shows the roughnesses of the stuff, and the whole is picked out with points of light, giving great *brio* to the picture. In this form we see Paul Veronese frequently working at this time, and it is no wonder that he should have been captivated by a treatment so free, so bold, and so exceedingly clever.*

How keen Titian could still be in preserving order in his affairs and promoting the welfare of his family, is apparent, not only from his dealings with antiquaries, but in his irrepressible correspondence with people of high station. With that steady persistence which had already secured so many unhoped for payments from the obdurate treasurers of Spain, he now corresponded with the Duke of Urbino.

TITIAN TO THE DUKE OF URBINO.

"Many days have elapsed since, by order of your Excellency, I sent through the secretary (Agatone at Venice) the picture of "Our Lady." But having since then received no news as to whether it was considered

* On a scutcheon fastened to the wall we read: "IACOBVS DE STRADA. CIVIS ROMANVS CAES. S. ANTIQVARIVS ET COM BELIC. AN ÆTAT LI. MD.LXVI." On the wall to the left, "TITIANVS F." The word "BELIC," which formerly was "Aulic," the age LI, which formerly was LIX, show how this inscription was altered by repainting. The figure is large as life, seen to the knee, on a canvas, 3 ft. 11 h. by 3 ft.

satisfactory, I beg now to kiss your Excellency's hand, and ask to be consoled in respect of this matter; because being in this uncertainty I live in a state of doubt, as a man who would have pleasure in learning that his service has been grateful. I have heard that the painting was a long time on the road, and I think it would be proper to have it placed for half an hour in the sun to counteract any injury which it may have received. And so, kissing your Excellency's hand,

"I remain, &c.,

"TIZIANO VECELLIO, p.*

"*From* VENICE, *3rd May*, 1567."

Titian's impatience grew as months went by, and the secretary Agatone repeatedly met his importunities with promises. In autumn he renewed his application to the Duke.

"Six months had elapsed since May—he wrote in October, 1567—and Agatone had never offered but fair words in return for the painting sent to his Excellency." And Agatone, we need not doubt, succumbed to the pressure put upon him, and made the required payment.† The "Madonna" of which his letter speaks may possibly be one of those which came as heirlooms into the galleries of the Grand Dukes of Florence. It was but one of a series of pieces which found their way to Pesaro and Urbino

* The original is in Lettere d' Illustri Italiani non mai Stampate, pub. da Z. Bicchierai per le Nozze Galeotti-Cardenas di Valeggio, 8vo, Fir. Le Monnier, 1864, p. 11.

† Titian to the Duke of Urbino, Venice, Oct. 27, 1567, in Gaye's Carteggio, iii. 249.

in these latter days of the master's life. Two small canvases, reminiscent of this period, are visible even now in the church of San Francesco di Paolo at Urbino, which fairly show how easily, yet with what power, Titian in his old age could work. One of these canvases is the "Last Supper," so arranged that the table, being a square instead of an oblong, is placed at an angle to the plane of delineation, and shows the Saviour and disciples in threes at the sides of the board. Behind the table Christ is seated with a crust in his hand, whilst Judas, at the corner opposite to him, raises the bread to his mouth. The apostles are ingeniously delineated in various attitude and expression of surprise, and the scene is laid in a cloister, the archings of which are in part open, and display the landscape outside, with one of those slender pyramids shooting into the air which Titian used to break the monotony of horizontal and vertical lines. The picture unfortunately was fatally injured by washing, and being rapidly executed without repeated impasting, has darkened so much that some of the figures are lost in an artificial gloom. Better preserved, and originally better designed, is the "Resurrection" in the same church, a picture in which the foreshortenings and something in the movement of the Redeemer recall a similar masterpiece by Mantegna in the gallery of the Uffizi. The subject is that which Titian executed on a large scale for the Legate Averoldi at Brescia; but the treatment here is bolder and more dramatic. Christ rises on the cloud, giving the blessing and holding the banner. The

winding sheet covers his hips, and flaps away in the breeze. In the landscape beneath we see the square of the tomb, with a guard on the right starting up and wielding his lance, whilst one to the left totters as he looks towards heaven and shades his eyes with his hand. The two sleepers in the middle of the foreground are foreshortened with consummate skill, and the whole picture is thrown off at one painting with that breadth and certainty of hand which make a return to the parts altogether unnecessary.*

Amusing as illustration of Titian's pliancy in renewing relations with old and all but forgotten patrons in these years, is his correspondence with Cardinal Farnese in 1567 and 1568. We may recollect that he had obtained from Charles the Fifth what he called a "naturalezza di Spagna," a naturalization of his son Pomponio in Spain, which ought to have yielded an annual income of some hundreds of ducats. Many of his appeals to the King of Spain on the score of this pension had been fruitless, and one of Philip the Second's last memoranda had been "that he knew nothing of the matter."† Notwithstanding this most hopeless state of affairs, Titian now turned to Cardinal Farnese for the purpose of supporting his claim by legatine intercession; and the Cardinal was mindful enough of the services done to his family by the artist in bygone days to answer his

* Each of these canvases is m. 1 h. by 0.75. The "Resurrection" is fairly preserved, if we except the sky, which is much repainted. The "Last Supper," as above stated, is very dark, and in part obliterated; on the foreground to the left a dog is gnawing a bone.

† See *antea*, p. 345.

letter kindly. Encouraged by this turn of affairs, Titian now addressed his old protector anew, taking advantage of a journey undertaken towards Rome by Giannantonio Facchinetti, Bishop of Nicastro, to send pictures to the Cardinal and to Pope Pius the Fifth, and accompanying the present with the following letter:

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE.

"Having ascertained from your Reverence's communication that your Lordship's singular courtesy had deigned to approve the letter I lately sent, I make bold to present a new tribute of service in the shape of a picture of "St. Mary Magdalen in the Desert" in an attitude of devotion and penitence. As on a previous occasion your Lordship showed signs of liking the works of my hand, I feel convinced that this one will not meet with less favour; being done in my old age and fruit of my leisure, I beg of your Lordship to accept it as a proof of my devotion and desire to be of service. I join to it another picture for our Signore (the Pope), which is the "Beato Peter Martyr," and I shall be glad that your Illustrious Lordship should do me the favour to present it in my name. Praying that whenever Monsignor the Legate shall write from here in my favour your Lordship may give me your support, and kissing your Lordship's hand, "I am, &c.,

"TITIANO VECELLI."*

* The original is in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.*, . 14. It is not dated, but was probably written about the close of March, 1567.

To this letter the Cardinal was not so quick in responding as Titian thought he might have been.

TITIAN TO CARDINAL FARNESE.

"Two months, or nearly so, have elapsed since I sent two of my paintings to your Illustrious and Reverend Lordship, one of "St. Mary Magdalen" for yourself, and the "Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr" for our Signore, together with a letter begging your intercession in favour of my son Pomponio. But up to this time I have had no news of the receipt of these paintings, or of their having given pleasure to your Lordship. I therefore ask in these lines to be allowed to do my humble reverence and pray for consolation by a word of advice. The extension of this grace to me will be an obligation; since in my present state of age I feel the greatest consolation in knowing that I am a favourite and liked by my old signors and protectors, and so, kissing hands, &c.

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *May* 17, 1567."

The Bishop of Nicastro did not fail to second Titian's application with notes of the 24th of May and 28th of June, warning Cardinal Farnese that silence would probably induce Titian to give up the intention of sending His Eminence some rare picture.† The closing letter of the correspondence, dated De-

* The original is in Ronchini's Relazioni, *u. s.*, p. 15. † Ibid.

cember 10, 1568, shows that the prelate caused his relative Cardinal Alessandrino to reply, ordering of Titian a figure of "St. Catherine," which was duly forwarded through the Papal Nuncio at Venice to Rome, and telling the painter that his wishes with regard to Pomponio would be speedily attended to.* The Farnese thus obtained three pieces from Titian for which there is no reason to believe that they ever paid a farthing. The "Magdalen" was no doubt a replica of that which Titian left to Pomponio at his death, and passed, as we saw, to the Hermitage at Petersburg. We shall always remain in doubt whether it is that which is now preserved in the Naples Museum. The "Martyrdom of Peter Martyr" was engraved by Bertelli as a masterpiece in possession of Pius the Fifth, but it subsequently disappeared.† As to the "St. Catherine" nothing is known beyond the fact that Cardinal Alessandrino received it. In the Belvedere at Vienna we shall find a half length, representing a lady in red and green, with golden hair twined with flowers and

* This letter, in the archive of Parma, is printed in Ticozzi's Vecelli, *u. s.*, 317; and here it may be well to observe that all the letters of Titian and others printed by this author were taken without acknowledgment from the second edition of Titian's life, edited by Tizianello, a reprint made on the occasion of the Maula Lavagnoli wedding at Venice, in 1809, with the types of Antonio Curti.

† Andrea Maier, in his Imitazione pittura, gives a notice of this print, which the authors have not seen (p. 370). It consisted of three figures, varying slightly in attitude from those of the altar-pieces in San Giovanni e Paolo, with a difference also in details and landscape. It is inscribed, "Titianus Vecellius Eques Cæsaris Pio V. Pontifici Maximo faciebat."

strewed with pearls, standing with a palm in her left hand and resting her right on a broken wheel. Unfortunately this canvas is repainted to such an extent that, with the exception of a patch here and there in which the hand of Titian might be revealed, we seem to discern the style of Padovanino.* The Madrid Museum also comprises a half length of "St. Catherine," in which the Saint appears in a flowered violet dress, looking up and prayerfully raising her hands to heaven. In bygone times this figure was preserved in the old church of the Escorial, and assigned to Titian; but it is at best the work of one of his assistants.†

In the meantime, the pupils of Titian had not been idle. They had rapidly covered the choir and other parts of the church of Pieve with frescos from Titian's designs. In the vaulting of the choir they had drawn the Eternal receiving the Virgin into heaven, attended by angels, with the four Evangelists and appropriate emblems. On the walls to the right and left they had placed the Annunciation and the Nativity; on the soffit of the choir arch eight half-lengths of prophets, and on the front of the arch the Virgin lamenting and St. John Evangelist. These frescos, which perished in 1813, were so nearly completed in March,

* Vienna, Belvedere, second room, first floor, Italian School, No. 5, half-length on canvas, 3 ft. 1 h. by 2 ft. 4. The figure is turned to the right, the left hand on a console. Behind, to the left, a panel and a bas-relief, all on dark ground.

† Madrid Mus., No. 473, canvas, m. 1.35 h. by 0.98. The style is like that of Orazio or Cesare Vecelli. The figure is turned to the right.

1567, that orders were issued by the Cadorine community to fell fifty loads of timber to pay the first instalment of Titian's dues.* The series was not remarkable for great ability of execution, but it represented subjects drawn by Titian, and one of them at least preserved in a contemporary picture. The scene was the pent-house, traditionally known amongst Venetian artists as the birth-place of Christ, a worn and uninhabitable hut thatched with reeds set up amongst the ruins of an old temple. To the right, the Virgin knelt in front of a basket, raising a white cloak from the naked form of the Infant. In rear to the left St. Joseph stood, weak from age and travel, leaning on his staff. In front a shepherd prostrate on the ground trailed his lamb offering; behind him to the left were two herdsmen, one of them doffing his cap and leading the ox, the other dragging at the head of the ass. On the hinder wall of the pent-house, two men watched the cradle, whilst the grove behind was lighted by the moon, which shed its rays on field and trees and a flock tended by its keeper. This subject, engraved by Boldrini, is depicted in a small panel catalogued as a Titian in the Pitti collection at Florence, but recalling the peculiar form of treatment familiar to us in the works of Savoldo. It may be that the picture in earlier days displayed the hand of Titian. Now that it is dimmed by varnishes and

* We have full accounts of these frescos in one of Dr. Taddeo Jacobi's MS. at Cadore, to which Northcote (Life of Titian, *u. s.*, ii. pp. 301 and ff.) seems to have had access. See also a record of March 21, 1567, in Ticozzi, Vecelli, p. 319.

disfigured by repainting it looks like one of Savoldo's night scenes.*

Whilst this and other work was proceeding at Venice and Cadore, Titian had finished the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" for Philip the Second, and waited with impatience for the moment when he could send and claim payment for it. He had given notice to the King's secretary, Garcia Hernandez, that the picture was ready for delivery; but sickness had prevented that diplomatist from attending to him, and his death a short time after had thrown Titian's communications with Spain into some sort of confusion. The only Spanish agent then remaining in Venice was a consul, and to him Titian now applied; writing to the King to announce the despatch of a "Nude Venus" in addition to the "Martyrdom," and proposing to paint a whole series of scenes from the life of St. Lawrence.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST INVINCIBLE AND POTENT KING,

"I gather from the letters of your Majesty to Secretary Garcia Ernando, of good memory, the

* Pitti, No. 423, panel, with small figures, so injured that the colours are dropping from the wood. The best preserved part is the Virgin and Child, which is a richly coloured group.

A copy of this panel, said to be identical with the "Nativity" by Titian, once in the collection of Charles the First, is in the Gallery of Christchurch at Oxford. It is also on panel, but almost completely repainted. Compare Bathoe's Catalogue, p. 14. The same subject, by Titian was noticed by Ridolfi (Maraviglie, i. 198) amongst the pictures belonging in his days to the painter Gamberato.

desire that your Majesty has of receiving the 'Beato Lorenzo.' Your Majesty would have had the picture delivered months ago in Spain but for the delays, indisposition, and death of the said secretary. Now I shall consign the canvas to the Spanish consul, who will forward it to its destination. I have heard that your Majesty wishes to have paintings of all the incidents in the life of St. Lawrence, and if this be so, I beg to be informed in how many parts and the height and breadth and lighting of each part, as the life might be illustrated in eight or ten pieces, besides that of the death, which measures four and a half braccia in breadth and six in height. When I have ascertained your Majesty's wishes, I shall do all I can to put the matter in train quickly, and use the assistance of my son Orazio and another clever assistant, so that the thing shall be done at once, as I am disposed to spend all that remains of my life in your Majesty's service. I also humbly beg your Majesty to deign to assist me in my wants in my old age if in no other way than in commanding the officials to pay my pensions without delay, as I do not receive a *quatrino* but the half of it goes in commission and interest, or in fees for agency and other expenses, or in bills and presents. The Chamber of Spain owes me pay for three years and a half, the Milan Chamber even more than that, and in months past the latter retained certain *annates*, which I did not expect of these officials, considering my continuous service under your Majesty. Besides this, when paying 400 scudi they gave me a warrant for 400 *some* of rice, for

the discount of which I was obliged to give two reals *per soma*, making up a loss of about 80 scudi. To all this, I should add that my claim on Naples has never been settled, in spite of the numerous orders of your Majesty to that effect; and so I beg your Majesty to give commission that if no copies of this grant are to be found, and though the originals may have been destroyed, it should be renewed, which I pray to God and your Majesty may be possible, in order that I may clear myself some day from the infinite expenses which I have had to make up to the present time, having had more outgoings than the whole value of the original grant, in respect of salaries and presents uselessly laid out in favour of various gentlemen and agents. In conclusion, I beg to be recommended and excused if, through the fault of your Majesty's ministers, I have delayed sending the 'St. Lawrence.' I may add that I send with that picture a 'Nude Venus,' which I finished after the 'St. Lawrence' was completed; and with all devotion and reverence,

"I remain, &c.,

"Your Majesty's most humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, *December* 2, 1567."

We may presume that the "Venus" which accompanied the "St. Lawrence" was one of those Spanish pictures which perished by neglect or by fire, a replica perhaps of the "Venus with the Mirrors" preserved in Titian's work-room till his death.

* The original is in Appendix.

The "St. Lawrence" was sent in safety to Madrid, and placed on the high altar of the old church of the Escorial, where it still remains injured—it may be feared—without redemption by smoke and repainting, yet still a grand and majestic work. It differs neither in general form nor in treatment from the original at the Gesuiti of Venice, though marked by some interesting varieties. The martyred saint lies with one leg raised, and the right foot writhing under burns on the grating. The canvas is semicircular at the top. A triumphal arch takes the place of the Roman temple in the distance, and the sky seen through the arch is dimly lighted by the crescent of the moon. To the right in the foreground a dog is snarling. In the air in front two angels fly above the Saint's head, one of them holding a crown, the counterpart of those which used to float amongst the trees of the "Peter Martyr" on the altar of San Giovanni e Paolo.*

Whilst this picture was on its way to Spain, Titian was finishing the three canvases ordered by the Brescian municipality. The "deputies" of Brescia had generously left it to the "king of painters" to draw the figures of such a size that they should look larger than life when seen from the floor of the Brescian Hall, but they stiffly upheld their right to dictate the

* Two long streaks of repainting are visible, running upwards from the head of St. Lawrence to the figures of angels in the air, which they cut in halves. On the edge of the grating we read, 'TITIANO F." There is an engraving of this picture by C. Cort, inscribed, "Titian invenit, Æques Cæs. 1571, Cornelio Cort, fe." On the base of the pedestal in the picture at Madrid is written, "Invictiss. Philippo Hispaniarum regi D."

subject and the detail of face and dress in every one of the persons delineated. According to their paper of instructions, the central canvas was to represent Brescia as a female in the clouds attended by Minerva, Mars, and Naiads. Minerva was not to be the goddess of war but the goddess of peace, Mars in classic dress, armed *cap-à-pie*, of powerful frame but with menace in his glance. Brescia, without the attributes of a queen, was to be dressed in simple white, one hand to hold a golden statue of faith with a cornucopia as carved on one of the pennies of Trajan, the other to rest on her bosom. Her form and face were to be lovely, dignified, and serene. In memory of Hercules the founder of Brescia, a lion's skin was to grace her shoulders, a club lie at her feet. Minerva's tresses were to be auburn floating in the wind, her eyes blue, the helmet on her head surmounted with a sphinx. She should bear an olive branch, and near her should be placed an owl and a crystal shield. The naiads were to be seated below on the sward, with wreaths of reeds and water lilies and urns at their side. The theme of the second picture was described as "Cyclops forging weapons of offence near the smithy of Vulcan," out of which flames should be seen issuing, whilst Vulcan himself stood by, and a lion roared sullenly in the foreground. In contrast to this, the third piece was to represent Ceres with Bacchus and two river gods.*

Titian had had these canvases a long time on hand, when the Brescians bethought themselves that they

* See the records in Zamboni, *u. s.*, Ap. IV. pp. 132 and ff.

might put some pressure on him, by means of their friend the procurator Girolamo Grimani at Venice. Grimani did not fail to do their bidding, but Titian had probably some complaint to make on the score of advances, for when he wrote in June, 1568, to the deputies to announce the completion of the pictures, he also asked for immediate payment. Satisfied with this result, the Brescians no doubt gave Titian the necessary assurance, and after two of the canvases had been publicly exhibited in October in the church of San Bartolommeo at Venice, all three were packed and consigned to Cristoforo Rosa at Brescia. A short time after this Orazio set out to visit the deputies, and there, to his surprise, he met with hostile criticism and discontent. The Brescians declared that the pictures were not by Titian, the referees to whom they submitted them for valuation only thought them worth a thousand ducats, and Orazio retired in dudgeon, refusing to accept the proffered payment. For some days Titian fumed over this mishap. He applied at last to Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Brescia, with a request that he should mediate in the matter. Nothing, however, came of the arbitration. The deputies remained firm, and Titian was fain at last to accept the 1000 ducats as a sufficient return for his expenditure and trouble.* The Brescian allegories perished by fire on the 18th of January, 1575, two years before the canvases of the Hall of Great Council

* See Titian to Bollani, Ven., June 3, 1569; in Zamboni, *u. s.*, App. V., No. 4, p. 143; and Zamboni's text, p. 80.

at Venice underwent the same fate.* A print engraved by Cort in 1572 still shows the composition of the forge of Vulcan; and judging from this print, in which two Cyclops armed with hammers are ringing the changes on the tube of a piece of cannon, the figures were designed with remarkable boldness, and with due regard to the horizontal position of the canvas. But it was not to be expected that a man of Titian's age should execute pictures, each of which had a square surface of a hundred braccia,† without assistance from his pupils, and no doubt there was a good deal of truth in the statement of the deputies that they were not by Titian, if, by saying this, they meant to allude to the work of his disciples. For years Orazio and Girolamo or Marco Vecelli and Schiavone had been the mainstay of the workshop at San Canciano. So long as Titian with his own hand worked over the ground which they had previously covered, the picture might properly be called his. But if it happened, as it sometimes did, that Titian neglected this duty, the persons who bought his works could not be said to have complained unjustly. We shall presently see that Titian sent a composition of "Christ and the Tax Gatherer" to King Philip, which he called his own, and yet, if this piece, which is now preserved and bears his name, be that which he sent to Spain, it shows no trace of his hand. In many respects the old master was labouring under blunted faculties. But he was perhaps not unaware that his powers were sinking. In his last letter to the King

* See Brognoli's Guida di Brescia, *u. s.*, p. 58.

† Each canvas was 10 braccia square. Vas. xi. p. 268.

of Spain, he had not ventured to say that he could finish eight or ten scenes from the life of St. Lawrence without large and continued assistance. Many of his private arrangements point to the conviction that he thought he could not last much longer. The only mistake he made was to believe that his favourite son would live to enjoy his succession, for whom he made constant provision in view of that contingency. As early as June 19, 1567, he petitioned the Council of Ten to transfer his brokers' patent to Orazio, and a decree was issued in April, 1569, in accordance with his wishes.* In July, 1571, he obtained a patent from Philip the Second to transfer or will to Orazio his pension on the Chamber of Milan.† The timber yard at the Zattere, where we find the municipality of Murano taking its supplies in August, 1568,‡ belonged to Titian, though registered in the name of his son. But it was willed by Providence that Orazio should not long survive his father. One trait remains firmly impressed on Titian to the very last. His letters to princes had never been free from adulation; but this adulation had usually concealed some bitter pill in the form of a demand for money. The last numbers of his correspondence are, if possible, more fulsome than

* See the date of this decree in Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, pp. 9, 11, & 65.

† The patent is in Gaye, Carteggio, iii. p. 297. It was confirmed by the senate at Milan on June 4, 1572. The record is among the Jacobi MS. Cadore.

‡ Order of the Podestà to the Camerlengo of Murano to pay to Orazio Vecelli, "timber merchant alle Zattere," 280 lire, and 16 soldi, for wood furnished to the *comunità* of Murano to repair the Ponte Lungo. MS. T° Jacobi of Cadore. The order is dated Aug. 4, 1568.

previous ones, but they show no diminution in the old man's powers of calculation, or his canny regard to his own interest.

TITIAN TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

"MOST INVINCIBLE AND POTENT KING,

"I finished within the last few days the picture of 'Our Lord and the Pharisee showing the Coin,' which I promised to your Majesty, and I have sent it with the prayer that your Majesty may enjoy it as much as earlier works of mine, as I desire to close these the days of my extreme old age in the service of the Catholic King my Signor. I am now busy composing another subject of large compass and greater artifice than I have undertaken for years, and when it is done, I shall lay it humbly before the exalted presence of your Majesty. Meanwhile, in order that I may more freely serve in this matter, and clear myself of the continual labour and expense to which I am subjected in respect of this blessed order for grain on the kingdom of Naples, which has never yet yielded anything after so many years, I humbly beg your Majesty to command that the said order be despatched without delay, and so that it shall be free from the deductions or charges of that Chamber; and this I beg in recompense for the many and continuous interests that have suffered for years in this business, and in consideration of my old devotion and service. Such a favour, easy to grant to the infinite goodness and munificence of your Catholic Majesty, will be an alleviation to the great want in which I find myself at this moment, and

I shall consider it to have given new life to the soul within this worn body which is so entirely devoted to the service of your Majesty. And so, recommending myself, &c.

"I am of your Catholic Majesty

"The most devoted humble Servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.*

"*From* VENICE, 26*th Oct.*, 1568."

If the "Tribute Money" to which Titian alludes in his letter be that which once formed part of the treasure brought from Spain by Marshal Soult, and now belongs to the National Collection, it bears the master's name, yet displays a treatment far more crude and unsatisfactory than we can concede even to Palma Giovine in his bad days. Nor can it be supposed that Titian would send such a picture as his own to the King of Spain, unless he secretly despised, and could with impunity challenge the taste of the Monarch.†

That Titian at this period was gradually resigning

* See the original in Appendix.

† No. 224 in the National Gallery, on canvas, 4 ft. h. by 3 ft. 4½, signed near the Saviour's head, "TITIANO F." Christ is turned to the left, and points upwards with the right hand as the "Pharisee" presents the coin. Behind the latter is a man wearing goggles. A stone wall to the right, sky to the left, form the background of the picture. The flesh is of a bricky red, ill painted, smeary, and raw. The figures are at the same time altogether below the elevated standard of Titian. Martin Rota has engraved this piece, and his plate is inscribed, "TITIANVS INVENTOR, Martino Ruota Sebenzan F." The picture was bought at the sale of Marshal Soult's collection in 1852. But there is another engraving, inscribed "Titian pinxit: Corn. Gall. sc. et exc.," which points to another now missing composition of Titian, where Christ addresses the Pharisee in the presence of three others.

himself to a life of less activity and movement than that to which he had hitherto been accustomed, might be inferred from his transaction of Cadorine business at Venice. On the 18th of September, 1568, we find him making an order of legitimacy in favour of Antonio and Giovanni Battista, the two sons, aged seventeen and nineteen respectively, of Pietro Costantini, curate of San Vito, in Cadore. Emmanuel of Augsburg, Titian's disciple, is named amongst the witnesses to the order.*

Little that can be called eventful occurs in the painter's life at this time, and we hardly know of his existence, except by squabbles with the Brescian deputies, or the disputes of Stoppio, Ott, and Brachieri.†

On the 27th of November, 1570, Jacopo Sansovino died at the fine old age of ninety-one, and was buried in the church of San Basso, whither perhaps Titian, who was two years his senior, followed his remains to the grave. The death of this industrious sculptor and architect severed the last of the links which united Titian to the artists of the previous century. It left him the last of the triumvirate which ruled for so many years over literary and artistic circles in Venice.‡

To the letters—now few and far between—which Titian addressed to Philip the Second, responses no

* A copy of the order is in Ticozzi, Vecelli, p. 241.

† See *antea*.

‡ There is a "portrait of Sansovino by Titian," No. 576 in the Uffizi at Florence. But the face and figure are altogether different from those of another portrait of the sculptor by Tintoretto, No. 638 in the same collection. As to the authorship of the likeness numbered 576, it is impossible to give any opinion in consequence of the state to which the canvas has been reduced by repainting.

longer came, except through the medium of ministers. Yet he persevered, and though he no longer received any commissions, he persisted in sending pictures, and urging, we might think *ad nauseam*, his claims on the treasuries of Naples and Milan. Philip, unfortunately for Titian, was hardly in a condition to devote either time or money to luxurious expenditure. His rule in the Netherlands, being upheld by force and terror, was naturally costly. His relations with France being unfriendly, were necessarily productive of expense. The Turks, too, had declared war against Venice, and threatened the peace of Europe. In spite of all these complications, Titian again sent pictures, and wrote to the King of Spain in the summer of 1571.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"MOST POTENT AND INVINCIBLE KING,

"I think your Majesty will have received by this the picture of 'Lucretia and Tarquin,' which was to have been presented by the Venetian ambassador. I now come with these lines to ask your Majesty to deign to command that I should be informed as to what pleasure it has given. The calamities of the present times, in which everyone is suffering from the continuance of war, force me to this step, and oblige me at the same time to ask to be favoured with some kind proof of your Majesty's grace, as well as with some assistance from Spain or elsewhere, since I have not been able for years past to obtain any payment, either from the Naples grant, or from my ordinary pensions. The state of my affairs

is indeed such that I do not know how to live in this my old age, devoted as it is entirely to the service of your Catholic Majesty, and to no other. Not having for eighteen years past received a *quatrino* for the paintings which I delivered from time to time, and of which I forward a list by this opportunity to the Secretary Perez, I feel assured that your Majesty's infinite clemency will cause a careful consideration to be made of the services of an old servant of the age of ninety-five, by extending to him some evidence of munificence and liberality. Sending two prints of the design of the *beato* Lorenzo, and most humbly recommending myself...

"I am your Catholic Majesty's

"Most devoted humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.

"*From* VENICE, *August* 1, 1571."

There is no reason to doubt that Titian entrusted a picture of Tarquin and Lucretia to the Venetian ambassador, or that the envoy delivered it to the monarch to whom he was accredited. But from that day forward no clue to the canvas has been preserved. A replica probably remained at Venice, and it was perhaps from this that Cornelius Cort produced his print of 1571. In the seventeenth century, the Lord Marshall, Earl of Arundel, presented a picture, the counterpart of Cort's print, to Charles the First, and this piece it is which we find passing into the gallery of Louis the Fourteenth. But whether that again is the canvas which went to Spain, and thence from hand to

hand into British collections of our time, it is impossible to say.* The "Tarquin and Lucretia" of Charles the First is described in contemporary manuscripts as defaced, in Lépicié's catalogue as "greatly injured." The Northwick "Lucretia" commends itself neither in form nor in treatment to modern taste, and the damage which it has received from patching and repainting is considerable; but one still sees that it was a work of Titian's advanced age. Lucretia, surprised all but naked on a couch, resists the assaults of a man in a green doublet and crimson hose, who grasps her right arm with his left hand, and threatens her life with a dagger. A man peeps into the room to the left by raising a corner of a green hanging. Lucretia's slippers lie to the right at the foot of the couch, and one of them bears the name of Titian. Considerable liberty, it will be seen, is taken with the traditions of costume. Nature is strained beyond limit in the stride and action of Tarquin. Yet the picture is still

* Tizianello's Anonimo tells of the possession of "Tarquin forcing Lucretia" by the Earl of Arundel. The catalogue of Charles the First's collection (Ashmole MS.) states that the king received a "Tarquin and Lucretia," "entire figures so large as the life, 6 ft. 3 h. by 4 ft. 3, from the Lord Marshall" (Earl of Arundel) as a present. (Bathoe, *u. s.*, p. 96.) At the sale of the Whitehall collection, Jabach bought the canvas, which he sold to Louis the Fourteenth. (Villot's Catalogue, p. xxii.) Lépicié describes it at the Louvre in 1752–4 as a canvas 6 ft. h. and 5½ broad. (Catalogue raisonné, folio, No. 12 of the registered Titians.) How it left the Louvre is not known; but it is not there now. We might therefore infer that it is the same picture which reappears to view in the collection of Joseph Bonaparte, from whence it goes by purchase to Lord Northwick (No. 871 of the Northwick Catalogue), and thence to Mr. Conyngham, at whose sale it was bought for the Marquis of Hertford for 250 guineas.

remarkable for its contrasts of colour, and for a certain boldness of touch in stiff impasted pigments.*

Not without cause had Titian complained to King Philip of the sufferings inflicted on the Venetians by a state of war. Since May, 1570, Venice had been engaged in hostilities with Sultan Selim, and had lost Cyprus and numerous places in the Adriatic. The Venetian envoy, who took with him the pictures of Titian, had been bound on a much more weighty errand than that of delivering a "Tarquin and Lucretia." Barbaro the *baile* at Constantinople had been thrown into gaol, and lay there in danger of his life. Turkish cruisers insulted the coasts of Greece and the Ionian islands, and the Sultan's squadrons were sailing so near to Venice that the forts had to be armed, the passes blocked with sunken ships, and the sands of Malamocco dug up into redoubts. It was very necessary to press the preparations of Spain, which had signed a treaty in May, 1571, and in August had not sent a single ship to the rescue. At last the moment of action came. Philip ordered Don John of Austria to the Straits of Messina with a fleet. Two hundred men of war rounded the capes and steered for the coasts of Greece, and there, on the 7th of October, near the classic promontory of Actium and within sight of

* The picture, now belonging to Sir Richard Wallace, to whom Lord Hertford's collection descended, is patched all round, and measures 7 ft. 2 in height, by 4 ft. 8. The surfaces, where comparatively free from repainting, are dulled by age and abrasion. On the slipper we read "TITIANVS F." Cort's print is inscribed, "Titian inven. Cornelio Cort, fe. 1571."

Sapienza, where Antonio Grimani had met with defeat and disgrace, was fought the celebrated battle of Lepanto, in which the Turkish armada was annihilated at a single blow, and universal joy was spread throughout the lands of Christendom. Sebastian Venier, who commanded the Venetian division of the Spanish force, despatched Giustiniani, one of his captains, to carry the news of victory to Venice. He entered the pass of San Martino at six in the evening of the 17th of October, his crew waving Turkish banners and his rowers wearing the spoils of their enemies. The people quickly learnt the glorious intelligence. All the powder that could be purchased was burnt in squibs and fireworks in honour of the great event. Men and women paraded the streets in an ecstasy of joy. Giustiniani, when he landed, was carried in triumph to San Marco, whither the Doge and council and foreign ambassadors proceeded in state to hear a Te Deum. All the shops were shut, and some of them chalked with the words: "Closed for the death of the Turks." The debtors' prison was broken open, and the inmates escaped to share in the general jubilation.* Was Titian there to take a part in this universal festivity? We may think that a man of his spirit would not be likely even at ninety-five to let these popular demonstrations go by, and remain a passive spectator of them. The Doge and council had not been a fortnight in possession of the news of the battle of Lepanto, when they thought of

* See a contemporary description of these scenes in Yriarte's Vie d'un Patricien de Venise, 8vo, Paris, 1874, pp. 208–9.

illustrating it by a picture. The council met on the 8th of November and passed a patriotic decree: declaring that, "if ever a noted action of bygone times deserved to be represented and kept alive in the minds of the people, none was more entitled to such a distinction than the victory of the Holy League over the Turkish armada." It was therefore decreed that the chiefs of the Ten should be empowered to select one or more painters in Venice or elsewhere to paint the "Battle of Lepanto" in the Hall of the Library in the Ducal palace,* and Ridolfi relates that Titian was chosen to perform this distinguished service, and that Salviati was selected to assist him; but delays occurred, and Tintoretto painted the "Battle of Lepanto."† That Tintoretto, as a reward for a canvas representing that victory, was endowed with a Sanseria by the Council of Ten in 1574, admits of no doubt whatever.‡ But there is no reason to think that Titian would have refused a commission for such a picture from the Venetian government, if his time had not been engaged upon work of a similar nature for a more exalted patron; we shall presently see that in 1574, when Tintoretto delivered his canvas to the Council of Ten, Titian was composing "A Battle" for Philip the Second, which is probably the same composition as that of which the following anecdote is told by Martinez in his life of Sanchez Coello.§

* See the decree in full in Lorenzi, p. 372.

† Ridolfi, Marav. ii. 205–7.

‡ Ridolfi, *u. s.* But the original decree of the 27th of September, 1574, is in Lorenzi, *u. s.*, p. 391.

§ See *postea*, and Titian to A. Perez, Dec. 22, 1574, in Appendix.

Philip the Second having written to Titian to prepare a canvas equal in size to that of his equestrian portrait of Charles the Fifth, sent for Coello and asked him to sketch the design which Titian was afterwards to use. Notwithstanding his aversion to such an order, Coello was obliged to obey. Under the special directions of his Majesty he represented the king standing with his first-born son in his arms, and the boy stretching his hands towards an angel, who was to be seen descending from heaven with a palm and a crown, whilst a prostrate Moor lay bound in the landscape below. Besides this sketch, which measured about three palms, Sanchez took sittings from Philip, and painted his portrait of life size, and both were sent by the shortest road to Titian at Venice. On seeing the head and the sketch, and learning what he was expected to do with them, Titian was generous enough to write back that so clever an artist as the author of these pieces ought to suffice for the King, who from that time forward need never send for pictures abroad. But Philip, though he acknowledged the compliment, declared that he should like to have the work from Titian's hand, and Titian accordingly proceeded to execute it.* The canvas of "Philip presenting his Son to an Angel," is now in the Madrid

* Jusepe Martinez, Discursos practicables del Nobilisimo Arte de la Pintura, in Don Pedro de Madrazo's Catalogue, *u. s.*, p. 343. Don Pedro disbelieves this anecdote, chiefly because it speaks of Philip as presenting his "first-born" son, when it is clear that the picture was painted after the battle of Lepanto, and therefore more than three years after the death of Don Carlos. But Martinez no doubt alludes to the first-born of Philip's last marriage with Donna Anna of Austria.

Museum, and clearly displays the style of Titian in his old age. Its size is within a couple of inches that of the portrait of Charles the Fifth at Mühlberg. It is done quickly at one painting and without impasting, showing that Philip not only ordered the piece, but asked Titian to finish it quickly. Two months after the Battle of Lepanto, the Queen Anna of Austria presented Philip with a son known as the Infante Don Fernando. At a time when all Europe was rejoicing over the heroism of Don John of Austria, and exaggerating the consequences of his victory, nothing could be more natural than that Philip should suggest to a painter the theme which forms the subject of Titian's composition. The picture is full of allusions to that great engagement. Philip stands at an altar covered with crimson cloth, his frame defended by armour, his legs in crimson hose. He holds aloft the naked babe, who stretches his hands towards the angel bearing the crown and a palm with a scroll inscribed: "Maiora Tibi." At the foot of the altar a Turk kneels half naked, with his arms bound behind his back, his turban, a kettledrum, quiver, and flag, and the crescent and star of the Ottomans lying at his feet. But Titian, whether he accepted Coello's sketch or not, was ill inclined to devote much care to this allegory, and the angel who drops from heaven is drawn in a bold but unnatural action, whilst the rest of the picture is thrown off with a certain amount of haste. Imperfect as the work appears on this account, the portrait profile of Philip is fine and spirited; the remaining parts are

designed with a playful skill, and the figures are full of life-like impulse, as they show themselves strongly relieved by trenchant light and shade, and glowing with a warm richness of colour.*

An artist, even if he has grown grey in his profession, cannot be expected to put forth his strength in a subject dictated by others, with the same spirit as when the theme is suggested entirely by his own thought and feeling. The contrast between official and original painting at this late period of Titian's life is well illustrated by a comparison between the "Allegory of Lepanto" and the "Christ Crowned with Thorns" at Munich. In the one we detect the artist's want of natural inspiration, in the other we see Titian labouring for his own satisfaction. The "Christ Crowned with Thorns" was not commissioned by any one, it was not composed for any known patron, but remained unfinished in Titian's workroom till Tintoretto saw it one day and begged the master to give it him as a present. Titian did so, and Tintoretto put it up in his own atelier as a model of what a modern picture ought to be. Boschini, who saw it in the hands of Tintoretto's son, justly describes it as "a marvel worthy of a place in an academy to

* This canvas, No. 470 in the Madrid Museum, is m. 3.35 h. by 2.74, and is known to have been in the palace of Madrid at the death of Philip the Second. The king faces to the left, he turns his back to a palatial colonnade, on one of the pillars of which a cartello is fastened, bearing the words, "Titianvs Vec. . . . iu. Æques Cæs. fecit." The colours, originally thin and painted in at one sitting, have lost more of their richness and clearness than other pieces in which the impast was more solid. Photograph by Laurent.

show students all the secrets of art, and teach them not to degrade but to improve nature." *

The composition differs from that of the Louvre in lighting, and in the setting of some of the dramatis personæ. Here the scene is laid in the gloom of a passage, lighted in part by the smoky flare of a hanging lamp of five branches. The man who spits at the Saviour is omitted, and the guard in front to the right, instead of kneeling and holding fast the Redeemer's hands, ascends the steps, trailing a battle-axe in his left hand, and grasping a wand with his right, a youth behind him carrying a bundle of reeds. The dress of the man with the battle-axe is variegated and bright, consisting of a green feathered cap, a red and green coat, and a lemon coloured sleeve. The treatment, though it is partly lost to view under accidental injuries and repainting, is similar to that of the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" at the Escurial, the colouring being richer, the action more powerful than in the earlier though more finished picture of the Louvre. It is impossible to conceive better arrangement, greater harmony of lines, or more boldness of movement. Truth in the reproduction of nature in momentary action is combined with fine contrasts of light and shade, and an inimitable richness of tone, in pigment kneaded, grained, and varied in surface beyond anything that we know of this time. Such a combination might have thrown into despair three such men as Rubens, Van Dyke, and Rembrandt, two

* Ricche Miniere, Preface; Ridolfi, Maraviglie, i. 270.

of whom certainly studied the picture somewhere, since they almost copied it in canvases at Berlin and Madrid, whilst the third may have seen it in the Netherlands, where tradition says that the canvas was once preserved. The method, too, would be sympathetic to Rembrandt, being the very converse of that observed in the "Allegory of Lepanto," displaying impast frequently repeated in heavy and substantial coats, tints broken with pure primaries or studdings of brilliance, tormented into variety of surface, and glazed to diversity of tint.*

Pictures of this merit laid up in store speak highly in favour of Titian's fertility and power, but they also indicate his wish to keep for display a certain number of works of a good standard. The house in Biri Grande, we may remember, was known to all Venetians as a place of exhibition for masterpieces, and as such was also visited by strangers, whilst Titian himself had personally acquired such a popular celebrity that princes on their travels and potent

* This canvas, for a long time preserved at Schleissheim, is now No. 1329 in the Munich Gallery, and measures 8 ft. 7½ h. by 5 ft. 7.8. There is, as above stated, a tradition that it came from the Netherlands to Bavaria, but the history of the picture is altogether obscure. Certain it is only that it is a genuine Titian. Probability akin to certainty exists that it is the picture that belonged to Tintoretto, which was sold "to a foreigner" by Domenico Tintoretto (Boschini, Miniere, Preface). The surfaces are extensively repainted, *ex. gr.* the profile of the man on the right, the hands of the man in the background holding a reed in both hands, the head of the man with the battle-axe, the torso of the figure to the left, and the right side of Christ's head. But some of the restoring is spirited, and looks like the work of Rubens or Van Dyke. See Rubens' adaptation of the subject, No. 783 at Berlin, and Van Dyke's at Madrid, No. 496 (old numbering).

ministers on journeys of state turned off the road to see him. We noted that in 1572, when the Spanish minister Antonio Perez expressed a wish to Leonardo Donato, the Venetian envoy at Madrid, to possess two canvases of Titian, the council asked the French ambassador to go and choose what he thought best in Titian's palace;* we recollect that some of the pieces which Pomponio Vecelli found after his father's death were executed in Titian's very best form. A well-known anecdote tells of the coming of Cardinal Granvelle and Cardinal Pacheco to the painter's house, and asking themselves to dinner, upon which Titian flung his purse to a servant and bid him prepare a feast, as "all the world was dining with him."† Henry the Third of France showed himself not less curious to see Titian than anxious to purchase some of his creations. When that monarch, on his way from Poland to France, was received with honour by the prince and people of Venice (June 1574) he stole an hour from public festivities to see the painter; and Titian is said to have made him a present of all the pictures of which he asked the price. More credible than this unaccountable generosity is the contemporary statement that Henry offered 800 scudi to Paola Danna for the great "Ecce Homo."‡

Titian at this period was not only hale and hearty enough to receive royal visits, but he was still of sufficient vigour to write letters, paint pictures, and superintend the labours of his disciples. No one who

* *Antea*, p. 293.
† Ridolfi, Mar. i. 271–2.
‡ Morelli's Anonimo, p. 89.

reads the following despatch to Antonio Perez will come to any other conclusion than that he still enjoyed all his faculties and an indomitable spirit of enterprise.

TITIAN TO ANTONIO PEREZ.

"I have noted with infinite pleasure the contents of your Illustrious Lordship's last letters, and rejoice exceedingly to find that my works have in some measure met with approval from your Lordship, whom I shall never be too tired to serve. I am also thankful for your Lordship's kind offices both present and future with his Catholic Majesty, and in obedience to your Lordship's directions I may say that the paintings, of which I have not as yet had any payment, are those set down in the annexed inclosure. But first I should advise your Lordship that I have received 800 scudi of the money paid to Gentile by the Royal Chamber [of Madrid], and that 300 scudi still remain due to me; but that I have had no moneys from the Chamber of Milan, though I hope from what the Lord Ambassador tells me that they will be paid. Meanwhile I am not neglecting my duty to his Catholic Majesty either in respect of the "Battle" or other works commenced, and particularly the *presepio*, which I began on hearing from the painter who came hither from Spain to see me the other day that His Majesty wished for the "Nativity of our Lord," that being the only subject wanting in all his collection. I am also reducing to perfection, as far as the season will allow, the other pictures of your Lordship and your Lord-

ship's wife, which are well advanced. I write also by this opportunity to his Catholic Majesty in reference to the payment of the pictures sent him in past years, inclosing a memorial similar to that which I send your Lordship. I pray that your courteous wishes may have effect, as, being in want of many things in these calamitous times, this will probably be the greatest favour that I can hope to obtain from your Lordship excepting the continuance of your Lordship's good grace, of which, though I may not with my humble powers show myself worthy, yet I shall neglect no occasion to prove myself deserving, having all the will to be of service, and so I recommend myself and kiss your Lordship's hands.

"Your most Illustrious Lordship's

"Most obliged servant,

"TICIANO VECELLIO.

"*From* VENICE, *22nd of December*, 1574."

Inclosure in the foregoing.

"Memorial to his Catholic Majesty by Titian and his son Orazio.

"First, that the Milan pension of my son Horazio may be put in balance, in order that he may without trouble, fatigue, or interest enjoy the favour done him by his Majesty.

"*Item.*—The pictures sent to his Majesty at divers times within the last twenty-five years are these, but only in part, and it is desired that Signor Alons (Sanchez Coello), painter to his Majesty, should add to the list such pieces as have been forgotten here :

"'Venus and Adonis' [1556].
"'Calisto pregnant of Jove' [1561].
"'Actæon entering the Bath' [1561].
"'Andromeda bound to the Rock' [1556].
"'Europa carried off by the Bull' [1562].
"'Christ in Prayer in the Garden' [1562].
"The 'Temptation of the Jews with the Coin to Christ' [1568].
"'Christ in the Sepulchre' [1561].
"The 'St. Mary Magdalen' [1561].
"The 'Three Magi of the East' [1561].
"'Venus, to whom Love Holds a Mirror' [?].
"The '*Nude*,' with the Landscape and the Satyr [1567].
"The 'Last Supper of Our Lord' [1564].
"The 'Martyrdom of St. Lawrence' [1567].

With many others which I do not remember."*

This letter is interesting in many respects, as showing that Sanchez Coello, when he made the sketch of the "Allegory of Lepanto" for Philip the Second, did not "send" it by the shortest road, but actually took it himself. It leads to the conclusion that the "Allegory" was painted under the name of "The Battle," and sent to Madrid after Christmas of 1574. It also explains the existence of a number of Titian's works at Madrid of which Titian himself had forgotten the number and the subjects. There is a fine canvas of "Christ bearing his Cross," which deserves to be noted as one of these relics, being the counterpart of a similar canvas in the Gallery of St. Petersburg.†

* See letter and inclosure in Appendix.

† This picture, No. 487 in the Madrid Museum, is on canvas, measuring m. 0.67 h. by 0.77. It shows the Saviour crowned

Equally worthy of remembrance is the large but almost ruined "Adam and Eve," with which Rubens was so taken that he made a copy of it, by which alone the beauty and form of the original are now to be appreciated or understood.* But another important feature in Titian's letter is its confirmation of a statement made by Spanish historians that Sanchez Coello made a list of Titian's pictures for Philip the Second

with thorns, seen to the waist, moving to the right under the weight of the cross, supported in part by a bare-headed bearded man in a red and blue dress. On the beam of the cross are the words, "TITIANVS ÆQ. CÆS. F." The man whose head appears at the angle of the cross above Christ is a portrait given in the replica at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg as Francesco del Mosaico (Zuccato). The tones at Madrid are powerful, the face of Christ elevated and regularly moulded. For the replica at Madrid, see under St. Petersburg, in a list of genuine extant Titians, *postea*.

* This large canvas, m. 2.40 h. by 1.86, was obscurely hung in the first years of the seventeenth century in the sacristy of the royal chapel at Madrid, where Rubens doubtless saw it. (De Madrazo's Catalogue, *u. s.*, p. 247.) It is now No. 456 in the Madrid Museum, having been saved—obviously with pains—from the great fire of 1734, and restored by D. Juan de Miranda (Ibid. p. 678). To the right Eve stands near the apple tree, and holds the fruit received from the tempter, whose head appears at the junction of a bough. To the left Adam is seated on a bank, and stretches out his hand for the apple. The figures are above life size, altered in shape and contour by restoring. In the left hand corner of the foreground are the words, "TITIANVS F." Rubens' copy, though it is unavoidably impressed with his character in the rendering of form, still enables us to correct the outlines altered by retouching in the original picture. A quaint addition which Rubens has ventured to make is a parrot on the tree above Adam's head. There is a photograph of Titian's "Adam and Eve" by Laurent. A variety of the "Adam and Eve" was left unfinished, according to Boschini, by Titian. It belonged to the Procurator Morosini. Titian only finished the figure of Eve. Tintoretto added that of Adam, and a landscape distance was painted by Lodovico Pozzo, of Treviso, into which animals were introduced by Bassano. (Boschini, Carta del Navegar, p. 336.)

in 1575.* During the interval which elapsed between the delivery and final examination of this list, Titian came very fairly to the conclusion that Antonio Perez, Philip the Second, and Coello had forgotten his existence, and he accordingly wrote the following letters, which are the last that we possess from his hand, one of them being dated but six months before his death, in the ninty-ninth year of his age.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

"CATHOLIC AND MOST POTENT KING MY SIGNOR,

"Knowing the great kindness with which your Catholic Majesty gave orders that a list should be made out of the pictures sent at various times by command of your Majesty, I now proceed, with the confidence of an old servant, to forward a new memorial of the same, firmly hoping that your Majesty's royal and exalted liberality will desire that your Majesty's directions for my benefit should be carried out, to the end that I may, with a more joyful heart, attend to the other works dedicated to the glory of your Majesty, which I am now doing in this my last age. There is so much ill-fortune in the world now that I feel great want of the power and royal liberality of a holy prince of the world, such as your Catholic Majesty, whom I pray that God may keep for a long time.

"Most devoted humble servant,

"TITIANO VECELLIO.

"*From* VENICE, *on Christmas Day*, 1575."

* See Northcote's Titian, *u. s.* ii. 242.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"YOUR CATHOLIC AND ROYAL MAJESTY,

"The infinite benignity with which your Catholic Majesty—by natural habit—is accustomed to gratify all such as have served and still serve your Majesty faithfully, emboldens me to appear with the present [letter] to recall myself to your royal memory, in which I believe that my old and devoted service will have kept me unaltered. My prayer is this: Twenty years have elapsed and I have never had any recompense for the many pictures sent on divers occasions to your Majesty; but having received intelligence by letters from the Secretary Antonio Perez of your Majesty's wish to gratify me, and having reached a great old age not without privations, I now humbly beg that your Majesty will deign, with accustomed benevolence, to give such directions to ministers as will relieve my want. The glorious memory of Charles the Fifth, your Majesty's father, having numbered me amongst his familiar, nay, most faithful servants, by honouring me beyond my deserts with the title of *cavaliere*, I wish to be able, with the favour and protection of your Majesty,—true portrait of that immortal Emperor—to support as it deserves the name of a cavaliere, which is so honoured and esteemed in the world; and that it may be known that the services done by me during many years to the most serene house of Austria have met with grateful return, thus causing me, with more joyful heart than hitherto, to spend what remains of my days in

the service of your Majesty. For this I should feel the more obliged, as I should thus be consoled in my old age, whilst praying to God to concede to your Majesty a long and happy life with increase of his divine grace and exaltation of your Majesty's kingdom. In the meanwhile I expect from the royal benevolence of your Majesty the fruits of the favour I desire, and with due reverence and humility, and kissing your sacred hands,

"I am your Catholic Majesty's

"Most humble and devoted servant,

"TIZIANO VECELLIO.

"*From* VENICE, 27*th February*, 1576."

Titian's appeal to the benevolence of the King of Spain looks like that of a garrulous old gentleman proud of his longevity, but hoping still to live for many years. Yet, as he himself observed, there was much ill-fortune then threatening the world, ill-fortune particularly threatening Venice; not politically, for after Lepanto there was peace between the republic and the Turks; but a plague was beginning to rage which threatened to carry off more people than a similar visitation in 1510. The seeds of this plague had been sown in 1575, when deaths began to occur in increasing numbers. In 1576 the mortality became so great that a general panic ensued. The fear of contagion, though but a spur to exertion in minds seasoned with charity or strengthened by feelings of duty, only called forth the most abject display of selfishness and cowardice in many classes of the

community. Such as had the means withdrew to the mainland. Those who remained were in danger not only of catching the contagion, but if they fell sick, of dying for want of attendance. It was fatal to any one at the time to fall ill, for whatever his ailing might be, he was doomed. In doubt as to the nature of symptoms "fathers forsook their sons, sons abandoned their sires, wives their husbands, husbands their wives, and the bodies of the dead were carried unaccompanied to the Lazzarettos."* All that human ingenuity could discover as a remedy for so fearful an evil was attempted by the government of the day. Hospitals were established in the islands of the lagoons; and at the Lazzaretto Vecchio, towards Malamocco, or the Lazzaretto Nuovo, and San Giacomo di Palù, between Murano and Mazzorbo, it was a familiar sight to see the daily transport of clothes and furniture from houses affected by contagion, and the destruction of infected apparel by fire.† But nothing that care and forethought could devise appeared to control the plague. It went its way and marked its path by the destruction of 50,000 souls in a population of 190,000 people. The Venetian Senate vowed to build a church to the Redeemer, and then pity was extended to the helpless city, which, it is said, suddenly reverted to a state of health.‡

Titian had never suffered from any serious or

* Sansovino, Cose Notabili, *u. s.*, p. 32.

† Cicogna, Isc. Ven., *u. s.*, v. 495, vi. 549.

‡ Sansovino, Cose Notabili, *u. s.*, p. 32; and see the history of the founding of the church "del Redentore alla Giudecca," on the plans of Palladio in 1577.

dangerous sickness, nor had he stood face to face with death under any circumstances, yet as he grew old he was not unmindful of the common lot of mankind, and he prepared, after the fashion of the age, for the disposal of his remains. He sent to the Franciscans at the Frari and bargained with them for a grave in the chapel "Del Crocifisso," paying for the privilege of resting in the church so nobly decorated by two of his finest works with a promise of a third great composition of the "Christ of Pity." The friars accepted the offer, and Titian undertook the picture, which he nearly finished before he died. But differences arose, a quarrel ensued, and Titian left his work unfinished, and willed that his corpse should be taken to Cadore and buried in the chapel of his family at the Pieve.* But the noble canvas of the "Pietà" was rescued from loss by the pious care of Palma Giovine, who gave some finishing strokes to it, and wrote upon a tablet the well-known lines :—

"Quod Titianus inchoatum reliquit,
Palma reverenter absolvit
Deoq. dicavit opus."†

It is doubtful whether due attention has been bestowed on this remarkable piece, the touchstone to Titian's art in his very last days, though time and repeated restoring have greatly increased the difficulty of distinguishing the labours of the master from those of Palma Giovine and his less gifted followers.

* Tizianello's Anon°, and Ridolfi, Mar. i. 269. † Ridolfi, i. 269.

The Saviour rests in death on the lap of the Virgin, who grieves as she supports the head and the stigmatised hand. Joseph of Arimathea kneels to the right, looking up at Christ's face, and holding his left arm. In tragic action, with dishevelled hair and arms outstretched, the Magdalen comes in to the left and wails, whilst an angel on the ground stoops over the vase of ointment. A second angel hovers in the air and bears a lighted torch. The gilt mosaic niche behind the group, emblazoned with a pelican stripping its breast, is skirted and roofed with marbles, on which seven crystal lamps are burning. On marble plinths at the sides of the niche are statues of Moses and the Hellespontic Sibyl, and on a scutcheon at the Sibyl's feet we see the arms of Titian, a set square sable on a field argent, beneath the double eagle on a field Or. A small tablet leaning against the scutcheon contains the defaced portraits of Titian and his son Orazio, kneeling before a diminutive group of the "Christ of Pity." Through the various deposits of former ages, fragments of this splendid composition may be discerned from which we judge of Titian's work in its latest development. Here, as in the "Scourging of Christ" at Munich, the touch is massive, broad, and firm, telling still of incomparable readiness of hand. It is truly surprising that a man so far advanced in years should have had the power to put together a composition so perfect in line, so elevated in thought, or so tragic in expression. We cannot tell how far Titian was supplemented by Palma, or Palma's strokes were concealed by those of later

craftsmen. But no injury produced by centuries of neglect and destructive agencies can conceal from us the purpose of a modelling carried out with pigments of abundant impast, or hide the searching after form in primaries kneaded into shape like the clay under the tool of a sculptor. Even the subtle rubbings and glazes by which life and morbidity were given are not as yet all lost. We see the traces of a brush manipulated by one whose hand never grew weary and never learned to tremble. The figures and faces which display their passion before us, are those which grew with Titian's growth from the fresh idyllic days when the bloom of youth lay on all his canvases, to the later period when maturer charms and swelling shapes were favourite creations, and the final stage when a masculine realism prevailed. The Virgin, Joseph of Arimathea, and the Magdalen are all types which have ripened and expanded to the full. The Magdalen of the Mantuan "Entombment" and that of the Pietà of 1576, are as it were the first and last rungs of a ladder, the intermediate steps of which we have all seen the master ascending. It may be that looking closely at the "Pietà" our eyes will lose themselves in a chaos of touches; but retiring to the focal distance, they recover themselves and distinguish all that Titian meant to convey. In the group of the Virgin and Christ—a group full of the deepest and truest feeling—there lies a grandeur comparable in one sense with that which strikes us in the "Pietà" of Michaelangelo. To the sublime conventionalism by which Buonarroti carries us into a preternatural

atmosphere, Titian substitutes a depth of passion almost equally sublime and the more real as it is enhanced by colour.*

And now the time came when the great master was to be called away. The plague entered the house of Titian at Biri Grande, and on the 27th of August, 1576, he expired in the midst of a population stricken with terror and heartless from panic. Swiftly the news spread through the city that the greatest of all Venetian artists had died. Swiftly the loss was communicated to the supreme authorities. Laws had been passed to meet the plague then afflicting Venice, which forbade the burial of a victim of the contagion in any of the churches of the city. This law was quickly set aside in Titian's case. He had once

* The "Pietà," now No. 33 in the Venice Academy, was removed to that place from the suppressed church of Sant' Angelo at Venice. It measures m. 3.50 h. by 3.93, and is painted on canvas. Injured, it is said, by the daubing of one Veglio, it was restored in 1825 by Signor Sebastiano Santi, whose work is easy to recognise in the long strip of modern repainting which runs down one vertical side, along the base, and up the other vertical side. Most of the figures are more or less injured by retouching, but some of the draperies, and especially the blue mantle of the Virgin and the green mantle of the Magdalen, are quite darkened by superposed pigment. The angel in the foreground has lost some of Titian's contour, as well as much of Titian's colour; and the angel in the air is Titian's only in the movement. It is a pity that the inscription on the tablet with the portraits is rubbed away. On the pedestals of the statues we read, "MOISES" and "HELESPONTICA." Moses stands, horned, with his right on the tables of the law, which rest on the ground, with his left holding a small staff. Above his head are the words, "ΜΟΥΣΗΣΙΕΡΟΝ." The sibyl supports a large cross, and wears a crown of thorns. Above her head are the words, "ΘΕΟS ΑΝΟS ΕΝΕΣΤΙΚΗ." A line engraving by Viviani will be found in Zanotto's Pinacoteca Veneta; consult also Boschini, R. Miniere. Sest. di S. Marco, p. 93; and Zanotto's Venetian Guide, *u. s.*

desired to be buried at the Frari, and later had expressed a wish that his bones should be taken to Cadore. It was ordered that he should find a place of rest in the "Chapel of the Crucified Saviour" at the Frari, for which he had been preparing his last picture. On the 28th of August the canons of St. Mark came in procession to San Canciano; the body was taken solemnly to the Frari and laid in the earth, where now a stately monument, tribute of wonder and admiration of the latest generation of Titian's admirers, stands in all the splendour of marble to do honour to his memory. When Perugino died of plague he was obscurely buried in a field. Ghirlandaio, who perished of the same disease, was taken to his rest hurriedly and in the dead of night. Titian, a man of greater fame than either, was better treated by his grateful countrymen. He was taken to his grave by day, in presence of the highest dignitaries of the church, and the shell which once held a life so strong and resisting that it seemed able to withstand all the assaults of time, reposes near one of the finest creations of the art of all ages, the "Madonna di Casa Pesaro." *

The scenes which occurred in Titian's house after his death were melancholy beyond description.† It is not known whether Orazio was attacked by plague

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* See as to the facts in the text the records in Cadorin, Dello Amore, pp. 74, 95, & 102; and compare Borghini, Riposo, 8vo, Sienna, 1787 (the original edition was published in 1584), vol. iii. p. 89.

† The company of painters planned a grand funeral ceremony in honour of Titian, in emulation

during his father's lifetime, but he certainly died of the contagion almost immediately afterwards, and he died, not in his father's dwelling but in the Lazzaretto Vecchio, near the Lido.* No one was left to take care of the painter's place. Thieves broke into the house, and before Pomponio or the officers of public security could interfere, many precious relics were stolen and destroyed.† What was spared besides the master-pieces enumerated in the foregoing pages may be condensed into a short space. The following list is one which cannot pretend to absolute completeness, though it may be accepted as very nearly exhaustive:

Venice Academy: Private Meeting-hall.—In this hall are nineteen panels containing cherubs' heads and the symbols of the Evangelists by Titian, originally in the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista at Venice. They are finely coloured, of golden tone, and executed with great mastery, but some of them—the cherubs especially—are injured by stippling. Two of the heads of angels are imitations by the Venetian painter, Giuseppe Lorenzi. Titian's orginals are noted in their place by Sansovino (Pitt. Ven. p. 284), Ridolfi (Mar. i. 267), and Zanetti (Pitt. Ven. p. 171). The picture of the Evangelist John, in the ceiling, was greatly damaged, and sold, according to Zanotto (Pinac. Ven.) to a private collector at Turin. Line engravings of the above-mentioned pieces (the Evangelist John excepted) are in Zanotto's Pinac. Veneta.

Ragusa: San Domenico.—"St. Mary Magdalen" between "St. Blaise" and the "Angel and Tobit"; in front to the right

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of that which the Florentines had carried out as a token of respect for Michaelangelo. But the times were not favourable for such a spectacle, and it was abandoned. See Ridolfi, Mar. i. 275.

* Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, 95–6.

† Cadorin, *u. s.*, 97, 98.

is a kneeling figure of Count Gozzi; canvas, figures as large as life. This picture, of Titian's late time, was seen by the authors in the studio of Signor Paolo Fabris, who was engaged in restoring it.

Genoa: Balbi Palace.—At the foot of a wall which partly intercepts a pleasant landscape, the Virgin Mary sits with the naked infant Christ standing on her knees. She looks with kindly grace at a donor in black silk dress, who kneels to the right recommended by St. Dominick. To the left is St. Catherine, partly concealed by a carved marble screen. Canvas, with figures under life size. This charming picture of the time of the bacchanals is thrown out of focus by abrasion, washing, and repainting; but is still pleasing on account of the grace of the attitudes and the beauty of the landscape.

Florence: Pitti. No. 92.—Portrait of a man in black, his left hand on his haunch, his right holding a pair of gloves; canvas, half-length, of life-size. This portrait is one which ought to have found a place in the life of Titian, being one of the finest and grandest productions of his best time. But we know neither the date of execution, nor the person represented. The dress is black silk, showing white linen at the neck and wrists, with double sleeves hanging from the shoulders. The face is that of a man in the prime of life, with short curly chestnut hair and beard. There is life in every feature of this grand likeness, life in the eye, life in the pose, but life displayed in its most elevated form, and with all the subtlety of Titian's art in his best days.

Florence: Pitti. No. 228.—The "Saviour," a bust on canvas from the collection of the Dukes of Urbino. The Saviour is almost in profile to the left, long haired and bearded, in red tunic and blue mantle, his right hand of beautiful shape on his breast. The distance is a landscape under a sky streaked with cloud. This handsome picture of Titian's earlier time, was painted apparently without a model, and on that account without the subtle delicacy of some of his better works. A copy under Titian's name is in the Christchurch Gallery at Oxford. The Pitti canvas has

been photographed by the Photographic Company, and by Alinari.

Florence: Pitti. No. 80.—"Portrait of Vesalius the Surgeon." Canvas, half-length, of life-size. Vesalius here is a fat old man with a full beard, seated, resting his elbow on the back of a chair, and supporting in the right hand a folio. The left hand holding a pair of goggles, rests on the arm of the chair. The figure and head are turned slightly to the left, the frame being dressed in a black vest and fur pelisse. An authentic portrait of Vesalius, by Calcar, engraved in "De Humani Corporis Fabrica," printed in folio at Bâle, in 1543, represents the great anatomist at the age of about 40. It is possible that years and fat may have changed his appearance to that which marks the Pitti likeness. But the surface of this piece is so injured, that hardly anything remains to test the authorship of Titian, though fragments here and there would justify any one in assigning the picture to him. Under these circumstances, it is hardly practicable to give a decided opinion. It may be worthy of remark, that the so-called portraits of Vesalius all differ in features, ex. gr. Vienna: Belvedere by Morone, though assigned to Titian. Vienna: Ambras Gallery, erroneously ascribed to Tintoretto. Munich: Pinakothek, falsely given to Tintoretto and Padua Gallery, attributed to Calcar. The Pitti canvas has been engraved in reverse by T. Ver Cruys.

Rome: Doria Palace. 1st Gallery, No. 14.—Portrait of a man at a table, on which a jewel is lying. His right hand is on the table, which is covered with a green cloth. In his left he holds a pocket-handkerchief. The head finely set on the shoulders, is turned three-quarters to the left. The hair and beard are grey. The figure, a half-length of life-size on canvas, is dressed in black silk. Though much repainted, there is evidence that this was once a very fine likeness by Titian. On the upper part of the brown background we read: "MAR. POLVS, VEN." But these letters are a recent addition to the picture. The canvas is patched all round with strips of new stuff.

Rome: Doria Palace. 2nd Gallery, No. 52.—"Portrait of Jansenius." This is a likeness of a man in an arm-chair, turned to the left, but looking at the spectator; on canvas, seen to the ancles, and large as life. The man wears a dark grey triangular cap and a black silk furred pelisse, his left hand is on the arm of the chair, his right on a book lying on his knee, his elbow on a table covered with a Persian cloth. Behind him is a deep crimson hanging. The face is long and bony, the eye bright and sparkling, the forehead high, the beard short, but deep brown, though the hair on the temples is turning to grey. Much of the picture has been touched up with new paint, and particularly so the hands and the beard. Who "Jansenius" may be it is impossible to say, but the picture is clearly by Titian.

Rome: Borghese Palace. Room X., No. 16.—"St. Dominick;" half-length, on canvas. St. Dominick is standing, and points upwards with the fore-finger of his right hand. With the left he holds the black mantle which winds round his waist. The face inclined, and seen at three-quarters to the right, is encircled with a nimbus, a ray falls on the figure from the left. The track of the brush laying in the colour, the bold free touch of Titian, are to be seen in this piece, which is executed at one painting with great mastery. The treatment recalls that of the "Baptist in the Desert" at the Venice Academy. The eyes glisten with life, and one sees the bilious humours in the sacks of the lower eyelids.

Rome: Colonna Gallery.—"Onufrius Panvinius."—Portrait of a Franciscan friar seated and turned to the right; canvas, knee-piece, large as life. The head is fine,—in features, which are those of an ascetic, the hair of whose tonsure is already grey,—in treatment, being painted with strong impasted pigment without much glazing—in a warm brown general tone. On what grounds the name of Panvinius was given to this picture, it is hard to say. We have here a fine study from nature by Titian in the years of his prime. There is no reference in contemporary literature to Titian's portrait of a friar. But a letter exists, dated June 1549, in which Aretino sends Titian's remembrances to "the Reverend

father Feliciano at Chioggia," and expresses the master's impatience to see him, that he may "paint his portrait and hear him preach in St. Mark at the bidding of the Doge." (Aretino, Lett. *u. s.* v. 124). Who this father Feliciano may be, whether identical with Bernardino Feliciano, a public speaker and professor at Venice during the Dogeship of Francesco Donato, we cannot at present ascertain.

Rome: Sciarra-Colonna Palace.—Room 1. The Virgin in a room hung with green curtains, stoops over and fondles the infant Christ on her lap. Canvas, 1 ft. 9 in. high, inscribed on a footstool to the left in gold letters, "TITIANVS." This is a beautiful little specimen of Titian's art, the right hand holding the back of the infant is of a lovely pearly tone beautifully contrasting with white drapery.

Madrid Museum, No. 463.—"Portrait of a Maltese Knight;" knee-piece, on canvas, m. 1. 22h. by 1.01. This is the likeness of a man of about 35, bare-headed, and bearded, standing at a table on which a clock lies. The dress is black silk trimmed with satin, and the vest is embroidered with a large Greek cross. This noble portrait has not yet been identified. It has lost some of its delicate finish in the head, but is still a very fine example of the master's middle time. Particularly admirable is the way in which the black dress is detached on the lighter yet still gloomy background.

Madrid Museum: (not exhibited, but numbered 435, in the catalogue of 1845) "Ecce Homo," on panel 3 ft. 7 in. square. The Saviour, crowned with thorns, turned to the right stands holding the reed in his bound hands. In front to the right, a soldier in chain mail with his back to the spectator, rests his arm on a parapet of stone, whilst Pilate in a red jewelled cap raises his hand and speaks. Just above the parapet to the left, the head of a man in an orange cap appears, whose outstretched hand raises the fold of Christ's red tunic. In the background to the left is a window with a lattice of bars. The eye of the last-mentioned figure, a fragment of Christ's shoulder, is all that can be seen of the original colour in this picture, which appears to have suffered irreparable injury from accidents and repainting. But these

fragments show that the panel was once a fine work of Titian. An old and feeble copy of this piece without the soldier in chain mail, is No. 694, in the gallery of Hampton Court. A duplicate of the latter is catalogued in the Dresden Museum, (No. 239) as by Francesco Vecelli.

Louvre, No. 473.—"L'Homme au Gant;" canvas, m. 1.0 h. by 0.89 half length, of life size inscribed "TICIANVS F." This is a portrait of a young man three quarters to the right, bare-headed, dressed in black, the left elbow on a console, the hand bare holding a glove, the right hand gloved. The black pelisse is crossed over a frilled white shirt. This is a noble portrait of Titian's middle period, strongly impasted with pigment of deep flesh tone. Light and shade are contrasted with great mastery, the touch is broad and free, the hand admirably modelled. This picture belonged to Louis the Fourteenth. A copy of it is in the gallery of Brunswick signed: "TITIANVS." But the signature is merely copied, and by no means proves that the picture is a duplicate by the painter himself. Photograph by Braun.

Louvre, No. 472.—Portrait of a man; canvas, m. 1.18 h. by 0.96. Portrait of a man in black, the right hand on the haunch, the thumb of the left in the belt of the doublet. The face is turned slightly to the left, and the hair cut straight across the forehead. This grand piece also belonged to Louis the Fourteenth. It is of the same period as "L'Homme au Gant," and suggests the same remarks. It is also copied in a canvas of the Brunswick Museum. Photograph by Braun.

Louvre, No. 460.—"The Virgin and Child, St. Agnes and the Young Baptist;" canvas m. 1.57 h. by 1.60, but enlarged with a strip of stuff at the left side. The Virgin sits to the right near a pillar in front of a hanging. The infant Christ stands pensive on her lap. She looks round at St. Agnes prostrate before her, and presenting with her left hand a palm, whilst with her right she caresses the lamb led in to the left by the infant Baptist. The distance is a Cadorine landscape. Large developed forms, marked outlines, and sharp tints create the impression that Titian was assisted

in this picture by Cesare Vecellio. The colour is rich and well modelled, but not so harmonious as usual. This canvas was in the collection of Louis the Fourteenth, is engraved in Landon, and photographed by Braun.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 102.—Canvas m. 1.3 h. by 1.19, representing Cardinal Antonio Pallavicini, a prelate, who died in 1507, but who seems to have been painted posthumously by Titian about the time of his stay at Rome in 1545. The prelate is seated in a chair in white surplice and red cap and cape. His left hand is on the arm of the chair, his right on a book on his knee. Through a window to the left a landscape is seen. On a pillar behind the chair one reads "ANTONIVS PALLAVICINVS CARDINALIS S. PRASSEDIS." The treatment is broad, and the forms are largely presented as if under the influence of Michaelangelesque reminiscences. But the colours have less than usual of Titian's brilliancy and richness; whilst the landscape appears somewhat leaden. The picture, however, has suffered from stippling, which produced opaque and blind surfaces. It comes from the Crozat collection, and was engraved in reverse by Arnold de Jode. (See Farnese collection, *postea*.)

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 97.—Christ, crowned with thorns, bears the cross which he supports with both hands on his left shoulder. Behind him Simon of Cyrene. Canvas m. 0.89 h. by 0.77. This piece, from the Barbarigo collection, is supposed to represent Francesco Zuccato under the garb of Simon. The face differs from that of the so-called Zuccato in the portrait at Cobham. Like others of this class, this picture is in Titian's latest style, and executed in his broadest manner. It is a duplicate of a canvas at Madrid, but injured by restoring and old varnish, the dress of the Saviour being altogether renewed.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 95.—Christ in benediction with the orb in his left hand; half length, on canvas m. 0.96 h. by 0.78. This picture belonged to the Barbarigo collection, and is one of the pictures found in Titian's house after his death. It is much repainted, but still shows the treatment of the master's latest time.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 94.—Christ crowned with thorns, holds a reed between his bound hands. To the left in rear, Pilate in red, to the right the executioner. Canvas m. 0.96 h. by 0.78, from the Barbarigo collection, and in the master's latest manner. But these half-lengths are at best coarse and hastily executed. And time has not improved their look—the colours being dim from age, and changed by retouching.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, (not exhibited).—St. Sebastian, full length on canvas, bound to a tree, with an arrow in the middle of his breast. This figure, large as life, and once no doubt fine, was originally in the Barbarigo collection, but is now so injured that it cannot be shown. It may have been the original example of the "St. Sebastian," once in the Escorial, but now lost, of which Ridolfi says (Mar. i. 240), that it was painted for Charles the Fifth.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 96.—The Virgin holds the infant Christ on her knee, and receives a small vase from the kneeling Magdalen on the left; half lengths on canvas, m. 0.98 h. by 0·82. This too is a Barbarigo Titian replica, with a slight variety, of one at the Uffizi, and one in the Naples Museum. The colour is rich and the faces are pleasing, but the execution seems to have been entrusted in a great measure to a pupil of the class of Marco Vecelli, whose forms are always fuller, and whose colours are invariably sharper than those of Titian. This is an heirloom of the Barbarigo family, the original no doubt of a picture in the Farnese Collection, noted in the Farnese inventory of 1680. (See Campori, Racc. *u. s.* p. 224).

Dresden Gallery, No. 228.—Portrait of a man carrying a palm leaf; canvas 4 ft. 10 h. by 3 ft. 2, a knee-piece, originally in the palace of the Marcello family at Venice, where, according to the Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p.66), there was a collection of pictures, some of which were by Titian. The person represented is tall, bony, and sallow, very bald, but with short black hair still visible behind the temples, and a short dark beard. He looks to the right though turned three-quarters to the left, and sits, dressed in black silk, at a

table on which a shallow box with a pallet-knife or an apothecary's spatula is lying. Through an opening to the left a landscape is seen. Round the head, and dimly traceable under a repainted background, is the line of a circular nimbus. The whole surface of the picture has been more or less retouched, but the landscape suffered less than the rest of the canvas, and there as well as in small spaces of the flesh, we distinguish the hand of Titian. It must have been a fine likeness in its day; so fine that attempts were made to give the person represented a name, and this was done by help of the following inscription: MDLXI || INM. PETRVS ARETINVS || ÆTATIS SVA(!) XXXXVI || TITIANVS PICTOR ET || ÆQVES CÆSARIS. As it was clear that the face was not that of Aretino, clear likewise that the inscription was forged, the letters were recently washed over, and an inscription as follows recovered: MDLXI. || ANNO.. I. APT..A. NATVS || ÆTATIS SVA XLVI || TITIANVS PICTOR ET || ÆQVES CÆSARIS. The first line is darker in colour than the second and third, in which the character also differs from that of the fourth and fifth line. The letters are written by a house painter, sharp cornered, and crossed at the ends. They are probably not of Titian's time; yet the picture, as above remarked, is a fine and genuine work of Titian.

Munich Gallery, No. 587.—The Virgin sits under a tree in a landscape, holding the infant Christ on her knee, who turns to look at the boy Baptist on the left. To the right a donor in a black pelisse is kneeling. Canvas, 2 ft. 3¾ h. by 2 ft. 10. The head and foot of St. John, and the head of the Virgin are damaged by abrasion and retouching; yet the picture is still a lovely one of Titian, and the landscape to the right, with blue mountains and nearer ranges dotted with church and campanile, is beautifully painted. The date of this masterpiece may be set down as between 1520 and 1525; and the treatment in the style of that period is perfect. The profile of the donor, a man in the prime of life, is very fine.

The same subject, with a figure of St. Catherine in place of the donor, is catalogued as a Titian in the Fenaroli collection at Brescia. We read the words "TITIA. PIN." on a

corner of the canvas. But the handling is not Titian's, but that of an imitator of his manner.

Munich Gallery, No. 591.—The Virgin sits in front of a building in a landscape at sunset, and holds in her arms the naked infant Christ. The movements of the figures are grand, and the treatment exhibits Titian still in possession of great power, though in the period of his old age. The colours are brushed in with bold freedom, and shaded with dark tones. But the surfaces are partially rubbed down. This picture is said to have been brought to Munich from Spain; it measures 5 ft. 3⅛ h. by 4 ft. 1. It is signed with a dubious signature: "TITIANVS F."

A variation of the same motive is in a small Madonna in the Sciarra Colonna Palace at Rome. (See *antea*).

Munich Gallery, No. 467.—Portrait of a man in black turned to the right, but looking out to the left, bare-headed, with his right hand on a table, his left on a dagger. A white shirt shows its plaits at the breast, the coat is of black silk. This noble portrait is painted with great force and finish. and looks like one of those aristocratic creations of Titian which Van Dyke liked to study. In the gallery of Düsseldorf where it was long preserved, it was called erroneously a likeness of Aretino (see Georg Förster's Ansichten vom Niederrhein, &c., 8vo. Leipzig, 1868, 1er Theil, p. 77).

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of "Titian's Doctor, Parma," turned to the left, a beardless old man, with fine grey hair, in black silk robes, the left hand grasping the hem of the dress at the breast. This masterly portrait is one of the noblest creations of its kind, finished with a delicacy quite surprising, and modelled with the finest insight into the modulations of human flesh. Though some of the minute details have been removed by abrasion, enough remains to produce a magic effect. The hair, where preserved, is of such gossamer texture that one fancies it might be blown about by the air. Notwithstanding all this the touch and the treatment are utterly unlike Titian's, having none of his well-known freedom, and none of his technical peculiarities. Yet if asked to name an artist capable of painting such a

likeness, one is still at a loss. A piece was added to the bottom of the canvas at no very distant date. This and cleaning, to which we may add some retouching, may have altered the picture materially. In its present state the canvas measures 3 ft. 6 h. by 2 ft. 7. It is considered to be identical with the portrait mentioned by Ridolfi as that of "Parma" in the collection of B. della Nave (Marav. i. 220). But this is not proved; nor is there any direct testimony to show that it is by Titian at all (engraved in Teniers' Gallery).

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of "Philip Strozzi," the body and head turned three-quarters to the left; the dress, a black silk vest, partly covered by a black pelisse with a collar of white and black fur. Canvas, 3 ft. 6 h. by 2 ft. 7. The hair and short beard are coal black, the complexion bronzed and bilious. The right hand at the waist is well preserved. There is no proof that the person represented is Philip Strozzi. But the picture, though much over-painted (forehead and vest), looks as if it had once (1540) been a fine one of the master. The colour is broadly laid down on a plaited canvas.

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of "Benedetto Varchi;" a bearded man, whose body is turned to the left, whilst the head looks round to the right. The right elbow leans on a console; the left hand holds a richly bound book. Near a pillar of veined marble is a fall of burnt-red drapery. Here again the person represented is not proved to be the Florentine Benedetto Varchi. But the portrait is fine, the glance of the eye is lively and bold, the attitude grand. The colours are stiffly impasted on a coarse canvas. Time, circa 1550. Unfortunately there are touches of new paint about the face. Canvas, 3 ft. 8 h. by 3 ft.

Vienna Gallery.—Lucretia striking at herself with a dagger. Canvas, 3 ft. 2 h. by 2 ft. 4, half length in full front, of a woman with curly yellow hair, and bare neck pointing the dagger in her right hand at her bosom. A striped veil on one shoulder, a burnt crimson pelisse with a fur collar on the other, a white sleeve, make up the picture, which is rubbed down and injured to a considerable extent.

Some years ago the words: "SIBI TITIANVS PINXIT." were legible on the dark ground beneath the arm holding the dagger. The picture was probably executed in the master's later time, if we judge of the fragments still free from retouching, but it was not at the best a very fine or attractive production.

Vienna: Harrach Collection.—"St. Sebastian," of life size in a niche, his hands bound behind his back, looking up to heaven; canvas stretched on panel; of life size. A white cloth covers the hips; one arrow pierces the breast, another the left leg. The bend of the niche is coloured in mosaic, with a line in Greek, of which we read the letters: "ολγ—πιος." This picture is corroded by time, the shadows of the head and the pigment on the feet and legs being almost eaten away. But the attitude is finely rendered, and the execution seems worthy of Titian. There is a tradition that this piece was once in the sacristy of the Salute at Venice. But the Harrach collection was brought together partly at Naples, and partly in Spain, and it may be that the picture is that described in books as once existing in the Escorial. (See Sir A. Hume's Titian, p. 82).

Cassel Gallery, No. 25.—Portrait of a man, full length, large as life, on canvas, 7 ft. 2 h. by 5 ft. 5, in the plumed cap of a Duke, standing in a red striped doublet and red hose, in a hilly landscape. His left hand is on his haunch, his right grasps a spear. At his feet on the right is a dog; on the left a winged Cupid raising aloft a plumed helmet, whilst a bow and quiver lie on the ground. Signed to the right of "Amor," "TITIANVS FECIT." This figure is stated to be Davalos, Marquis of Vasto, which requires confirmation. It brings to mind Aretino's sonnet to Titian's portrait of Alva in 1549:

> "La effigie adoranda della pace
> L'imagine tremenda della guerra."
> (Aretino, Lettere, v. 105.)

But the face is not that of the Duke of Alva, although the figure may be that of a Spaniard. The style is that of Titian

in 1549–50. The treatment is rapid and bold. The sitter is a man of forty, close cropped, with a short black beard, losing itself in the frill of a white shirt collar; the figure is slender and well made. Sword and dagger are belted to the waist. Photograph by Gustav Schauer of Berlin.

London: National Gallery, No. 4.—"Holy Family with an Adoring Shepherd;" canvas, 3 ft. 5½ h., by 4 ft. 8. To the left, under a rocky bank, the Virgin sits on the ground with the infant Christ nestling in her lap. St. Joseph is seated to the right with one hand supported by a staff. He looks at a shepherd kneeling on the right foreground in yellowish hose and red jacket. In the distance a blue sky with few clouds, a hilly landscape, in which the angel appears to the shepherds. This picture, once in the Borghese Palace, is painted in Titian's early style, and recalls at once the schooling of Giorgione and Palma. But there is more emptiness in the forms than we like to admit in Titian, and much in the picture would seem to indicate the hand of Lotto. But these are only conjectures, and it is still possible that Titian was the painter. The picture was bequeathed to the nation by Mr. Holwell Carr. Engraved by J. Rolls.

Dudley House.—"Virgin and Child." This fine canvas was in very much better condition when at Rome in the Bisenzio Collection. It represents the Virgin seated on the ground near a brown curtain, giving the breast to the infant Christ, whose waist is covered with a white cloth. Much of the old power and freedom of Titian's later style was visible a few years ago, but is now lost in cleaning and repainting.

Hampton Court, No. 964.—The "Marquis of Guasto and Page." Knee-piece of life-size on canvas. This is a portrait of a captain in armour, turned slightly to the right, with the right hand on a table, on which his helmet lies. A bearded servant in profile to the right, dressed in striped yellow, ties the laces of the breastplate. Here, as at Cassel, it is hard to say on what grounds this captain is called Marquis of Guasto. Drawing, modelling, and colour are lost in abrasions, and the surfaces are so injured that Titian's handling is hardly to be recognised; yet fragments, such as the profile and hand of

the "page," are worthy of Titian, who is probably the painter of the picture. As regards the person represented, it is worthy of remark that the features are not unlike those of the Duke of Alva, as painted by Antonio Moro in a picture at Windsor Castle; not unlike those of a portrait erroneously ascribed to Titian, but called the "Duke of Alva," in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith. We should be better able to judge of this matter if we had a clue to Titian's original portrait of Alva, or even to the copy of that original executed by Rubens. (See Sainsbury's Papers, *u.s.*, p. 237.)

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 114. — "Titian's Uncle." Portrait of a man, turned to the right, standing at a table, bare-headed, and dressed in black, with a book in his right hand, a piece of fruit in his left. To the left, on a bracket, is a statue; through an opening to the right a fine landscape. Most of the picture is repainted, but fragments of it, and particularly the landscape, display the hand of Titian about his middle period. The person represented is about fifty years old, but on what grounds he is called Titian's uncle it is impossible to say.

Cobham Hall.—"Christ in Benediction." Bust on panel. Though much injured, this seems to have been a good and genuine picture by Titian. The parts about the collar bone are the best preserved. An inscription on the panel would suggest that it belonged to Domenico Ruzzini at Venice, and we find in Ridolfi (Mar. i. 261) that this senator owned a picture of "Christ in Benediction."

London: late Northwick Collection.—Portrait of a lady of life-size in a turban, holding in her left hand a fan made of feathers. On canvas, 3 ft. 3 h., by 2 ft. 8. The dress of the lady is Lombard, and recalls that of Isabella d'Este at the Belvedere of Vienna; the turban yellow with white braiding, the boddice cut square and variegated in black, yellow, and green. The shoulder puffs black and white and yellow, a chemisette, and a chain round the bare neck. The form is full, the bend of the head, seen at three-quarters to the left, slightly affected. The treatment is like that of Titian, but the surfaces are almost entirely concealed

by repainting, and the result of this is an appearance of feeble execution.

Late Northwick Collection, No. 872.—"Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey." The identity of this portrait is not proved. It represents a man of middle age in a black plumed cap, and bottle green damasked doublet, with red sleeves. The right hand is on a dagger at the belt, the left fondles a dog. Some fragments of this canvas, which is almost entirely repainted, show a treatment akin to that of Titian.

Viscount Powerscourt.—Amongst the pictures exhibited at the first Dublin International Exhibition, was one belonging to Lord Powerscourt, representing a bare-headed youth of life-size to the knees, in a black dress, with his right arm on a table strewed with books and papers, with his left hand holding a plumed cap; a chain hangs from his neck and supports a medal. Over the dark brown ground to the right a hanging of green stuff is falling. The youth is about twenty, of agreeable character, and natural. This figure may be acknowledged as fairly displaying the style of Titian.

Omnia Vanitas.—Under this title, two or three pictures are preserved, which bear the name of Titian. A drawing also exists, from which these pictures seem to have been executed. But doubts may be entertained as to its genuineness. Equally doubtful is the question whether Titian ever carried out in person the pictures representing the subject.

Düsseldorf Academy.—The drawing represents a female lying (with her head to the left) on a couch, half-raised on one arm, and looking up so as to show her face in foreshortened profile. At her side to the right is a vase, behind a fall of drapery. The drawing is washed in sepia, and outlined with a pen on rough paper, and has some of the characters of an original Titian.

Rome: Academy of San Luca.—The figure above described is painted reclining on a couch, with a vase near the shoulder, and a crown and sceptre at the feet. In the distance to the left a landscape represents Cadorine hills, and above the whole is a tablet inscribed "Omnia Vanitas." The canvas is

much injured by flaying and repainting. It is not handled with the mastery of Titian, but looks as if it had been executed by some of his disciples or imitators, perhaps by Cesare Vecellio. It is said that this piece was once in the Capitol, and was presented by Gregory the Sixteenth to San Luca. From it obviously Le Fèbre took his print of the Omnia Vanitas, and if so, the picture was then in the Vidman Collection at Venice. The same piece was also engraved by G. Saiter. (Compare Sir A. Hume's Titian, p. 65.)

Glasgow Museum, No. 236.—The same subject is here called "Danae." On the edge of the white couch, besides the vase, there are some golden pieces. On the tablet above, instead of "Omnia Vanitas," we read "TITIAN CADVBRI." The execution is very free, the pigment thin, as if some bold executant had imitated Cesare Vecelli. The canvas has been injured, and the flesh has gained a yellow tinge from time and varnish. The signature of Titian is of dubious antiquity. In a catalogue of pictures for sale at Venice at the close of the sixteenth century, we find the "Omnia Vanitas." (See this catalogue in Stockbauer's Kunstbestrebungen am Bayrischen Hof, *u.s.* vol. viii. of Quellenschriften, p. 43.)

Kingston Lacy.—Here is a third replica of the same piece, with "Omnia Vanitas" on the tablet. The figure is large as life, on canvas, but of uniform tone and thin colour. The execution is exactly similar to that of the Glasgow example.

It is natural that there should be a wish on the part of numerous collectors to assign to Titian works of art which sometimes closely, at others but distantly, recall the treatment of the master. The following is a list of pictures in which the authors have not been able to discern the distinctive marks of Titian's style.

Venice: Zecca.—"Virgin and Child." This is a fresco on the ground floor of the old Zecca, showing a certain form of affectation in the attitude of the Virgin, which looks like a reminiscence of the Virgin and Child of Raphael's "Ma-

donna di Foligno." The fresco has lost much of its colour, and it is impossible to express an opinion as to the author.

Venice Academy, No. 350.—Portrait of the Procurator Priamo di Lezze. This portrait was taken from the Procuratie, and patched and restored. The head, with short white hair and full beard, is all that is not absolutely new, but even that is changed by stippling, and now looks like work from the hand of Damiano Massa. Canvas bust in red, m. 0.52 h. by 0.53.

Venice: Prince Giovanelli.—Two pictures in this collection are assigned to Titian, "St. Roch and the Angel," which is an undoubted picture by Lotto (see Hist. of N. Ital. Painting, ii. p. 526), and a "St. Jerom" by Basaiti. (Ib. i. 269.)

Venice: Santa Caterina.—"The Angel and Tobit," on panel. The position of the figures and the dog is the same relatively as that of Titian's original in S. Marciliano, but the style is not the masculine and powerful style of Titian, and we may believe that Ridolfi is less correct in assigning it to Titian (Mar. i. 197) than Boschini in ascribing it to Santo Zago. (Ricche Miniere, S. di Canareggio, pp. 19, 20.)

Venice: S.S. Ermagora e Fortunato. — Christ with the Orb, on a pedestal between the standing figures of St. Andrew and St. Catherine; a Titianesque panel in the style of Francesco Vecelli, or Santo Zago, but not a genuine Titian. (Compare Boschini, Ricche Miniere, S. di Canareggio, p. 58, and Moschini, Guida di Venezia, ii. 361.)

Cadore: (Pieve di) Casa Coletti.—Here is the house once inhabited by Tiziano Vecelli, the orator, Titian's kinsman. A hall in the basement of the house is painted with arabesques and figures, one of the latter an old woman spinning, with a cat playing near her. Renaldis (Pittura Friulana, *u.s.* p. 65) ascribes these wall-paintings to Titian, but they are work of a later time.

Venas (Cadore) Church.—The Virgin adoring the infant Christ on her knees, between two angels in a landscape; on two canvases at the sides St. Mark and two saints in converse. This pretty and gracefully executed picture is by some painter of the school of the Vecelli of the seventeenth century.

Vinigo Church.—The Virgin enthroned with the Child in Benediction erect on her knee; at her sides St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist; an angel seated on the step of the throne plays the tambourine. This canvas, with figures of life-size, is greatly injured by restoring, but is clearly not by Titian. (Ticozzi, Vecelli, *u. s.* p. 95.) The treatment points to a disciple of the schools of Francesco or Cesare Vecelli.

Domegge: Casa Bernabo.—Church standard, representing the Virgin and Child between St. Roch and St. Sebastian, with an angel on the step playing a tambourine. This also is assigned to Titian, but is executed by an artist of the seventeenth century, whose work is almost completely lost in subsequent daubing. A copy of this piece, assigned to Orazio Vecelli in the church of the Pieve at Cadore, is inscribed with the date of 1647.

Pozzale: Church of San Tommaso.—Church standard, with a figure of St. Thomas. The surface of this canvas is covered with repaints, but it was never executed by Titian, whose name it undeservedly bears.

Candide Church.—The Virgin and Child enthroned, with an angel playing a tambourine, St. Andrew and St. John the Baptist,—a set of three canvases in this church, assigned by Ticozzi to Titian (Vecelli, p. 94), are by Cesare Vecelli.

Mel, in Cadore.—In past years there stood on the high altar of the church of Mel an arched canvas, with life-size figures of St. Andrew, St. Sebastian, and St. Paul, set on a base or predella, with hexagonal panels representing the Samaritan woman before Christ at the Well, the Resurrection, and the Epiphany, each of these little subjects being parted by a square panel containing an angel's head. The central piece is now in the choir, a copy of it being in the sacristy, where we likewise find halves of the Samaritan Woman and Resurrection put together as one picture, together with the Epiphany and Angels. According to the tradition of Mel, the altar-piece now in the choir is by Titian, but the work does not confirm the tradition. It is boldly painted, incorrect in drawing, and discordant in tone. In the

white haired central figure of St. Andrew, there is much to remind us of Andrea Schiavone. St. Sebastian bound to a pillar on the left recalls the school of Paris Bordone. The little panels in the sacristy are better than the principal canvas. The style of all is that which prevails amongst the painters of the Titianesque school at Belluno, and particularly that of Niccolò de' Stefani of Belluno. (Compare Ticozzi, Vecelli, p. 96, and Beltrame's Titian, p. 33.)

Cencenighe by Agordo.—On the high altar of the church of this village, a picture of St. Anthony enthroned between St. Roch and St. Sebastian is described as a work by Titian. On close examination, it seems to be by a Bellunese disciple of Niccolò de' Stefani.

Lentiai: Santa Maria.—Composite altar-piece. The Assumption between St. Paul and St. John Evangelist and St. Peter and a saint in episcopals. Above in half lengths the Pietà between four saints. This picture, assigned to Titian, betrays the hand of his assistants, and more particularly that of Cesare Vecelli, who painted the whole of the ceilings of this church in company of Jacopo Constantini in 1578.

Serravalle: Casa Carneliutti.—The house called Casa Carneliutti is that which was inhabited of old by Lavinia Vecelli and her husband Sarcinelli. Here the wall of an apartment is still covered with remnants of a fresco representing a nude female figure in a recumbent position, with a basket of flowers near her. She lies with her head to the left, her right elbow resting on a white cushion, and her head supported by the fingers of her right hand. The left hand, as at present seen, is extended horizontally in a somewhat meaningless manner. It is hard to say whether this picture was really executed, as alleged, by Titian. The left arm is quite modern, the other is retouched. Fragments of old colour crop up through the newer flesh tint of the face, showing the eyes and features in a different form from the present ones. Similar discoveries may be made in other parts, and it is evident that whoever may have been the author of this painting, his work is effectually concealed by that of a later and less competent hand.

San Salvatore di Colalto.—Fragments of frescoes, chiefly heads, originally in the canonry of Castions. 1. Titian? 2. Pierio Valeriano. 3. Urbano Bolzanio. These pieces, though assigned to Titian, are painted in the bold manner of Cesare Vecelli. A portrait of "Valeriano," the counterpart as regards face and features of the above, is preserved under the name of Titian in Casa Palatini at Belluno. It is probably also by Cesare.

Belluno: San Stefano.—"Adoration of the Magi." This picture, ascribed by Ticozzi (Vec. p. 98) and Beltrame (*u.s.* p. 33) to Titian, is by Cesare Vecelli.

Fonzaso: Casa Ponte.—The "Nativity" till 1806 in the suppressed church of San Giuseppe of Belluno. This canvas, assigned by Ticozzi to Titian, is by Francesco Vecelli his brother. (See Ticozzi, Vecelli, *u. s.* p. 73-4, and compare Count Florio Miari's Dizionario Bellunese, fol. Belluno, 1843, p. 143.)

Casteldardo: Casa Piloni.—Portrait of Oderico Piloni, half length on canvas turned to the left; an old man with a grey beard, white frill and brown dress, holding a glove in his left hand. This portrait is not by Titian, but probably by Cesare Vecelli.—In the same collection, two fragments of frescoes, representing a boy of six and a boy of seven years, are probably by the same hand. (See Alnwick).

Belluno: Casa Pagani.—Head of a youth: inscribed Antonio (Piloni) on panel; two heads on canvas of Scipio and Gio. Maria (Piloni). These are part of a series of which the rest—two in number—namely Cæsar and Paul Piloni, respectively aged six and three, are in the Casa Agosti at Belluno. All these pictures are assigned to Titian, but are probably by Cesare Vecelli.

Belluno: Casa Piloni.—A single head of a female—a fresco—is shown in this house, which once belonged to a fresco of the rape of the Sabine women, of which there is an engraving inscribed: "Opus Titiani Vecelli existens in atrio, D.D. nobilium Comitum Piloni in civitate Belluni, G. G. F." The fragment now preserved shows pretty clearly that the painter must have been Cesare Vecelli, the treatment being similar

to that of the wall paintings of Cesare's last period, in the Pieve di Cadore and elsewhere.

Spilimberg: Casa Monaco—Portrait of "Guglielmus Monaco Bergomensis" with the date MDL, at a table, pen in hand, turned three quarters to the right; on the table is a book with the word, "P. F. COMEDIA." The name and date above given are on the brown background of the canvas, but they are either repainted or modern. The picture itself is erroneously assigned to Titian, being by a feeble disciple of Pomponio Amalteo.

Pat: Casa Manzoni.—Profile bust to the right of a man in a black cap, falsely assigned to Titian. The real painter of this piece may be Niccolò de' Stefani, whose pictures are numerous in the neighbourhood of Pat.

Rovigo Gallery, No. 8.—Portrait of a bearded man in a black cap, pointing with the right hand to a passage in a book which he holds in his left. Half length on canvas turned to the right. The picture is in too bad a state to warrant an opinion. It looks as if it might have been originally a work of Bernardino Licinio.

Rovigo Gallery, No. 2.—"Virgin and Child" a copy of a picture by Titian in the Belvedere of Vienna. (See *antea*, i. p. 56.)

Rovigo Gallery, No. 118.—"Apollo and Daphne." A picture by Andrea Schiavone.

Rovigo Gallery, No. 9.—"Death of Goliath." No. 10, "Portrait of Titian by Himself." Both very poor, and spurious productions.

Vicenza Gallery.—"Virgin and Child." Half length in front of a landscape, in part concealed to the right by a green curtain; panel, with figures of life size. This picture is more in the style of Francesco Vecelli than in the style of Titian.

Verona Gallery.—"Virgin and Child and young Baptist." This canvas, with figures of half the life size, was bequeathed to the Verona Gallery by Mr. Bernasconi as an original Titian. It is however a pretty creation of Cesare Vecelli. Photograph by Naya.

Feltre: Episcopal Palace.—Portrait of a bearded man at a

table, on which a pair of goggles is lying. The figure is on canvas, half-length, large as life and turned to the right. It is by Tintoretto and not by Titian.

Padua: Casa Maldura.—The Virgin with the Child naked and recumbent on her lap, in front of a green curtain, beyond which to the right a landscape is seen. This canvas, with half lengths assigned to Titian, and much damaged by restoring, looks like a work of Cesare Vecelli.

Lovere: Tadini Collection, No. 78.—"Portrait of Gabriel Tadino" turned in profile to the left, with a white cross and a medal hanging from his neck. On the medal are fragments of letters which are all but illegible, and the date MCCCCCXXXVIII; on the lower part of the picture: "GABRIEL TADINO." This may once have been by Titian, but is now repainted to such an extent that the original pigments are no longer visible.

No 403 in the same collection is a portrait of a man in a dark pelisse looking to the right with a paper in his right hand, and his left on the hilt of his sword. It is a copy imitating Moretto rather than Titian.—No 380 represents Titian. A bust with (!) the Order of the Golden Fleece. A modern work of the 18th century. No. 34.—"Portrait of a lady with a lapdog on her knees." Much injured piece of a time subsequent to Titian's death. In the same gallery is a copy of the "Woman taken in Adultery," which we shall find assigned to Titian in Sant' Afra of Brescia.

Brescia: St. Afra.—"Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery." The Saviour turns to address one of the Pharisees, a bearded man in a turban on the left of the picture, whilst to the right the woman bends before him as she stands surrounded by her accusers. In the distance a grove and a temple. To the left in the foreground two figures stand, portraits probably of members of the family for which the composition was designed. Canvas, half-lengths of life size. This picture is painted in the Venetian manner, but by a provincial and not by Titian, and there is a modern polish in the colours and a weight in the forms which betray the hand either of Pietro Rosa or of Giulio Campi. The latter is probably the

author of the picture, which till quite recently hung above the lateral portal inside St. Afra, but within the last two years has been withdrawn, and has passed into private hands. Photograph by Giacomo Rossetti of Brescia, engraving in line by Sala. A feeble copy in the Tadini collection at Lovere.

The same subject with figures in full length and with the variety of Christ pointing to the sentence on the stone at his feet, which one of the Pharisees stoops to read, was 20 years ago under Titian's name in the Casa Pino Friedenthal at Milan.

Brescia: Erizzo-Maffei Gallery, No. 21.—Portrait of a man in a plumed cap dressed in yellow and green damask, turned to the left near an opening, his left hand on the hilt of his sword. Behind the figure—a half-length of life size on panel—is a green curtain. The picture is much repainted, but may still be recognised as a work of Moretto.

Brescia: Erizzo-Maffei Gallery.—Portrait of a grey-bearded man, with the left hand on his haunch, in a black cap, half-length. This portrait is not by Titian, but by Tintoretto.

Brescia: Fenaroli Collection.—"The Zingara," a woman in a black silk mantilla turned to the left near a table with a vase on it. In the distance a view of Venice and the lagoons. This fine picture is by Savoldo.

Brescia: Fenaroli Collection.—"Venus and the Organ-player." An old copy of Titian's picture in the Madrid Museum (now No. 459).

Bagolino (Province of Brescia): Parish Church of San Giorgio.—Virgin in glory attended by angels and adored by a kneeling saint. Below, St. Roch, St. Mark curing the shoemaker, and St. Sebastian. Arched canvas with figures of life size on the 3rd altar to the right of the portal. This picture, though assigned to Titian, is probably by Pietro Rosa of Brescia.

Bergamo: Lochis Carrara Gallery, No. 133.—"Virgin and Child;" half-length, on panel. Ascribed to Titian, but by Santo Zago.

Bergamo: Lochis Carrara, No. 111.—"The Return of the

Prodigal Son." The son kneels before his father, in the presence of numerous spectators, in a landscape in front of some houses. The style is like that of Andrea Schiavone, but is even too hasty to be his. On a scutcheon to the right are the arms of the family of Colalto.

Bergamo: Lochi's Carrara, No. 132.—A kneeling votary before a crucifix in a landscape; small panel inscribed with the date 1518. The treatment is that of a local Brescian painter.

Fano: Casa Montevecchio.—Portrait of Julius, Count of Montevecchio, in armour and mail, bareheaded, with his right hand on a helmet, and his left on the hilt of a sword. In the background to the left a hilly landscape is represented with a fortress, troops, and cannon; canvas, knee-piece of life size. On the old frame of the time is the following inscription: "Julius comes Montisveteris Urbini Prō[veditor] armorum reipublicæ Plumbini contra Turcos et in Tuscia contra Senenses Dux, et locumtenēs generalis anno MDLIII." Thin pigments and hasty execution would show that Titian, if he painted this picture at all, of which no opinion can here be given, produced a portrait beneath his usual powers.

Genoa: Durazzo Palace.—Venus initiates a Bacchante (five figures). This is a variety of the composition of which a repetition is in the gallery of Munich (No. 524). It is greatly injured, but was apparently executed by some imitator of Titian.

Modena Gallery, No. 114.—Portrait, half-length, of life-size of a man past the middle age, sitting. He wears a black cap, and rests his right arm on a table. This picture, purchased at Venice by Francis the Fifth of Modena, is on canvas stretched on panel, and little of it except the head and shoulders is original. But even this part is much damaged, and so a mere relic of what may once have been by Titian.

Modena Gallery, No. 117.—"La Moretta." This is a Bolognese copy of the portrait of the Duchess of Ferrara, with the negro page, so often alluded to in these volumes. The word "TIC . . ANVS" on the bracing of the sleeve to the

left can only point to the existence, at some unknown period, of an original from which this picture was copied. (See Stockholm.)

Modena Gallery, No. 131.—Portrait-bust of a man in a black cap and dress, turned to the left on a green background; canvas m. 0.54 h. by 0.45. This portrait is not by Titian, but executed in a manner reminiscent of Cesare Vecelli.

Modena Gallery, No. 130.—Portrait-bust of a man in black with a white shirt-collar; canvas, m. 0.42 h. by 0.34. In the style of Appollonius of Bassano, or some similar disciple of the schools of Tintoretto and Bassano.

Milan: Ambrosiana.—Christ carrying his cross, preceded by St. Veronica with the *sudarium*, and groups of soldiers. To the right the Virgin faints in the arms of the Marys. This small canvas was once attributed to Dürer, is now assigned to Titian, and was probably painted by Cariani.

Milan: Brera, No. 234. Profile-bust of a bald man with a large beard, turned to the right. A picture of the school of Bologna.

Milan: Brera, No. 265.—Bust-portrait of a man, profile to the left; injured by restoring, but still Titianesque in style.

Florence: Uffizi, No. 590.—The Virgin Mary, in a halo of cherubs' heads, supports the infant Christ erect on her knee. He leans his face on hers, whilst the boy St. John to the left holds his foot; canvas, knee-piece. On the Baptist's arm a scroll is lying, on which the words are written: "Ecce agnus Dei." Too feebly drawn and modelled, as well as too thin and raw in its pigments for Titian, this picture is by a follower and imitator of Titian, whose treatment is less telling than that of the copyist, who painted the same subject in a similar form at Bowood. Engraved in the Florentine Gallery.

Florence: Uffizi, No. 1002.—Virgin and Child between two angels, in a glory of cherubs' heads. Panel, knee-piece. This picture is not a Venetian, but a Lombard production, and therefore not properly assignable to Titian.

Florence: Uffizi, No. 625.—The Virgin holds the naked infant Christ on her lap, whilst St. Catherine to the right

offers him a pomegranate. This composition is but a variety of that numbered 96 in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, the Saint there being a Magdalen offering flowers. The picture is Titianesque, but in the style of Titian's disciples, and particularly of Marco Vecelli. Another but inferior replica we shall find in the Naples Museum. Engraved by Picchianti.

Florence: Pitti, No. 17.—"Marriage of St. Catherine;" canvas. This graceful picture is a curious illustration of the habit which painters had of preserving and repeating certain combinations of figures. The Virgin holds the infant Christ on her lap, and St. Catherine leans over the child and plays with it, whilst the boy St. John kneels to the right, and rests on the reed cross. Titian painted the principal group early in a picture now (No. 635) at the National Gallery, placing the boy Baptist to the left. The replica here under his name may have been executed in his atelier, but there are signs that it was not handled by himself, but by Cesare Vecelli. The figures are too feebly drawn, the colours are too sharp and untransparent, the balance of light and shade is too unequal, and the drapery too poor for the master himself. The distance is a landscape of trees and hills, where a shepherd in a turban tends his flock. A picture representing this subject is noted by Ridolfi (Mar. i. 260) as then existing in the Gussoni Collection at Venice.

Florence: Pitti, No. 83.—Portrait of "Luigi Cornaro" seated and turned to the right. This fine likeness is not by Titian, but by Tintoretto.

Rome: Corsini Palace, No. 55.—"Jupiter and Antiope." This is a copy with varieties in the landscape distance of Titian's composition at the Louvre, representing the Satyr looking at Venus asleep. The style is that of a painter of the seventeenth century.

Rome: Corsini Palace, No. 36.—Bust-portrait of a lady with a book in her hand. This, though much injured by repainting, is not a genuine Titian, but a work of a Venetian of the seventeenth century.

Rome: Corsini Palace, Room 7, No. 30.—"The Woman taken in Adultery." This picture is not by Titian, but

one of the numerous varieties of the subject by Rocco Marcone.

Rome: Corsini Palace, Room 4, No. 28.—"St. Jerom" turned to the left, kneeling, with the stone in his right. In the foreground is a skull and the Cardinal's hat. This is a Venetian picture of the seventeenth century.

Rome: Corsini Palace.—"The Sons of Charles the Fifth." Two youths in a room, one to the left leaning on a sword, the other to the right offering flowers. Both are richly dressed; canvas, with figures half as large as life. By a painter of the seventeenth century, who was surely not a Venetian.

Rome: Sciarra—Colonna Palace.—"La Bella di Tiziano." This is a fine portrait by Palma Vecchio.

Rome: Barberini Palace.—"La Schiava di Tiziano." This is a picture by Palma Vecchio.

Rome: Colonna Palace.—"Virgin and Child in a landscape, with Saints." The Virgin takes fruit from a basket carried by an angel, near whom, to the right, is St. Lucy. To the left St. Joseph also brings an offering of fruit, and in front of him is St. Jerom reading. This is not a Titian, but a picture by Bonifazio. Photograph by Alinari.

Rome: Academy of San Luca.—Bust-portrait of a lady with a dog, on panel. This Venetian picture is not by Titian. The ruddy flesh tones and bold treatment, combined with a certain neglect of drawing, might point to Alessandro Maganza.

Rome: Spada Gallery.—Portrait of a man turned to the left, with a violin, the handle of which only is visible. This canvas, assigned to Titian, is not original, but might be the portrait of Battista the violin player, whose likeness, according to Vasari (xiii. p. 36), was executed at Rome by Orazio Vecelli.

Rome: Spada Gallery, No. 31.—Portrait of a man in a black feathered cap, turned to the right, and dressed in a black pelisse. The left elbow reposes on the plinth of a pillar, on which a crown is placed. On a table before the figure is a flute and music. The right hand rests on a book, the edge of which lies on the table. This fine picture of the Venetian

school is hung in a high place and in a bad light. It looks at a distance like a good portrait by Girolamo da Treviso. It is painted on canvas, and is of life-size.

Rome: Spada Gallery, No. 66.—"Orazio Spada;" round, on copper. If this bust really represents Orazio Spada, who was born in 1660, it cannot be by Titian. The treatment is like that of Scipione Pulzone of Gaeta.

Rome: Spada Gallery, No. 17.—"Cardinal Spada and his Secretary." No. 51.—"Cardinal Paolo Spada" seated at church, turned to the left. None of the Spadas were Cardinals till after the death of Titian. Their portraits here are not by that master, but in the style of Scipio of Gaeta.

Rome: Spada Gallery, No. 9.—"Paul the Third." This is a copy of Titian's great portrait in the Naples Museum, by a painter of the seventeenth century.

Rome: Borghese Palace, Room 11, No. 3.—An angel bends to the right over the sleeping infant Christ, which he holds on a cushion. To the left the boy Baptist kisses one of Christ's feet, and in rear the Virgin kneels with her hands joined in prayer in front of a dark hanging. Distance, a landscape. Canvas, life-size. A picture similar to this at Alnwick Castle is catalogued under the name of Orazio Vecelli. The repetition at the Borghese Palace seems executed by a German or a Fleming imitating the Venetian manner.

Rome: Borghese Palace, Room 11, No. 17.—Samson bound naked in a niche, the jawbone at his feet; canvas, over life-size. This canvas has been patched at the bottom. It is much injured by repainting, yet still imposing, but the superposed colour precludes a decided opinion.

Rome: Doria Palace, 1st Gallery.—"The Sacrifice of Abraham." It is curious to find the name of Titian attached to a picture which bears all the marks of being a work of Rembrandt's contemporary and colleague, Jan Livens. The same subject by Livens is in the Brunswick Gallery (No. 515). Here the figures are large as life.

Rome: Doria Palace, Room 5, No. 22.—"The Virgin and Child, with St. Joseph, St. Catherine, and Shepherds;" panel,

with figures one quarter of the life size. This picture is described as a youthful production of Titian, but it is nothing of the kind. Though injured, it still shows the manner of a Trevisan painter of the schools of Palma Vecchio and Paris Bordone.

Rome: Doria Palace, 2nd Gallery, No. 80.—"Titian and his Wife;" half-lengths on a brown background. A lady is seated; her husband to the right rests both hands on her shoulder. These are cleverly painted figures in the manner of Sophonisba Anguisciola.

Rome: Doria Palace, 3rd Gallery, No. 10.—"Titian's Wife." This likeness of a female is by a painter of the 17th century, and does not even distantly recall the portrait No. 80 of the 2nd Gallery in this palace.

Rome: Doria Palace, 2nd Gallery, No. 17.—Portrait of a man turned to the left, standing and leaning his left hand on a book resting on a table. The red flesh tones of the full face fronting the spectator remind us of similar work by Romanino.

Rome: Doria Palace, 2nd Gallery, No. 57.—Portrait of a poet with a sprig of laurel in his right hand. This repainted picture is so disfigured by restoring, that no opinion can be given in respect of it.

Naples Gallery: Venetian School, No. 11.—Portrait of a lady of twenty, turned to the left, bare-headed, in white muslin with bodice, sleeves, and skirt of green velvet slashed with white; canvas half-length of life size on a brown ground. This picture is so injured by restoring and varnish that one can only guess that it was once a work of Titian. The features resemble distantly those of Titian's "Danae," at Naples. The Farnese lily is on the back of the canvas.

Naples Gallery: Venetian School, No. 21.—Portrait of a lady; half-length, three quarters to the left. She wears a light veil, and is dressed in black. In her right hand she holds a handkerchief, in her left a yellow glove. Behind to the left a bas-relief represents the Judgment of Paris. The treatment here is careful, but it is difficult to find in it the hand of Titian.

Naples Gallery: Venetian School, No. 43.—"Virgin and Child, with the Magdalen to the left offering the box of ointment." Half-lengths on canvas. This is a copy of a picture assigned to Titian in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (No. 96), and much inferior to the Russian example. It is no doubt the same that is found catalogued in the inventory of the Farnese collection (1680). See Campori, Raccolta, *u. s.*, p. 224.

Naples Gallery: Venetian School, No. 57.—Profile of a young prince in red, embroidered with gold, turned to the left, with the right hand on the breast, the left on the hilt of a sword. Canvas, m. 0.80 h. by 0.60. On a table to the left is a crown, and the order of the Golden Fleece. This picture is altogether daubed over with modern repaint, and baffles criticism on that account. On the back of the canvas is the Farnese lily.

Naples Gallery (not exhibited).—"The Allocution." This is a copy of the "Allocution" representing the Marquis of Vasto addressing his soldiers in the Madrid Museum—a copy not by Titian but interesting as confirming that the portrait of the Cassel Museum (see under that head), supposed to be a likeness of Del Vasto, cannot represent that general.

Besides this copy there exists a second in the same place representing another general addressing his soldiers.

Spain: Escorial Sacristy.—"Christ crucified;" life size on canvas. This picture being high up, and in a dark place, cannot be properly seen; apart from these considerations it looks as if it had been seriously injured and restored, and if a genuine picture, is a feeble one of the master.

Madrid Museum, No. 472.—"Rest during the Flight in Egypt;" canvas 1.55 h. by 3.23. The Virgin rests with the child on her lap, under a red cloth hanging between two trees. The infant Christ lays his hand in that of Joseph, who stands to the right, leaning on his staff. To the left a boy presents cherries to the Virgin, whilst a young girl further to the left pulls the fruit from a tree. The ass grazes in the background, and the ground in front is enlivened with two ducks and two rabbits. A picture like this

is minutely described by Vasari (xiii. p. 42) in the Assonica collection in Padua. But Ridolfi, who mentions every other Titian in that collection, is silent respecting this one. It is fair, on that account, to suppose that the Madrid canvas, which was taken to Spain by Velasquez in 1651 (see Madrazo's Madrid Mus. Catalogue, *u. s.* p. 681), is identical with that which Vasari describes. Yet the composition of the Madrid canvas is very much below Titian's powers, and the technical treatment seems likewise unworthy of him, the style being a mixture of that of the disciples of Titian and Pordenone such as Zelotti, or Polidoro Lanzani. An engraving, the counterpart of this picture in reverse, bears the following inscription: "Titian inventor, 1569; Martin Rota." Another engraving, the reverse of Rota's, is marked "Julio B. F."

Madrid Museum, No. 480.—Bust portrait of a man in a pelisse trimmed with ermine, turned three-quarters to the right. This is a fine portrait by Tintoretto.

Madrid Museum, No. 481.—Bust portrait of a bearded man in a dark coat, turned to the left and seen at three-quarters. This fine portrait of a young man is not quite as finely modelled or as powerfully touched as it would have been by Titian. It betrays the comparatively lower art of Pordenone.

Madrid Museum, No. 486.—"St. Margaret;" half-length canvas, m. 1.24 h. by 0.93. The Saint raises her arms in terror before the dragon, who twines his form on the foreground. In her left hand she holds the cross. This figure, if animated in movement, is not executed with the full power of Titian, but may have been thrown off with the help of Titian's assistants. The surfaces are here and there seriously damaged. This picture was in the sacristy of the Escorial.

Stockholm: Royal Palace, No. 265.—Full-length of the "Duke of Urbino" in a black plumed cap; the right hand on the haunch, the left leaning on the pommel of a double handed sword. Behind, to the left, a red curtain, to the right an opening through which a landscape is seen; on the foreground to the left, a dog. This picture is so much daubed over that no opinion can be given respecting it.

Stockholm: Royal Palace.—Portrait of a little girl of four years of age; full-length, with a basket of fruit, inscribed: ÆTATIS SVÆ 4. NEL MAIO. . . PER TITIANO E FATTO A CADORO . . . 1518. Panel of the seventeenth century, not even by a Venetian.

Stockholm: Royal Palace.—Portrait of the Duchess of Ferrara with a negro page. This is a copy of the picture engraved by Sadeler (see *antea*, vol. i., p. 186), of which there is a copy in the Modena Gallery, and another in possession of the painter, Signor Schiavone, at Venice. But none of these copies dates earlier than the eighteenth century.

Stockholm: Royal Palace, No. 102.—Bust of a man turned to the left. Much injured by repainting, and not genuine.

Stockholm: Royal Palace.—"Don Carlos as a Boy;" canvas, of life-size. A boy of six or seven years old is here represented accompanied by a dog. The style is not that of Titian, but that either of Pantoja de la Cruz or of Sanchez Coello.

Dresden Museum, No. 223.—The infant Christ on the Virgin's knee is supported on the left by St. John the Baptist, and presented to the adoration of St. Paul, Mary Magdalen and St. Jerom. Half-lengths of life-size on a panel measuring 5 ft. h. by 6 ft. 10. The clouded sky, upon which the face of the Virgin and the heavily bearded St. Paul are seen, is intercepted to the left by a green hanging, to the right by a plinth and colonnade. The Magdalen is in profile to the left, splendidly dressed in white and green. St. Jerom behind her in red, looks up at the crucifix, which he holds in his hand. This celebrated picture is very brilliant and highly coloured in sharp bright tones. It is executed at one painting, on a canvas primed with white gesso, the light ground of which is seen through the flesh tints. The drawing is resolute without being correct. Most like Titian in cast of form as well as in type and colour, is the infant Christ, whose oblong head is thrown against a lozenge-shaped halo of rays. The Virgin's face distantly recalls that of the "Assunta" of the Frari. But

neither her shape nor that of the Saviour is as lovely as we should expect from Titian. Though gracefully posed, the Magdalen is not without affectation, and a curious disharmony is apparent between a profile of small features and a bust and frame of large dimensions. The coarse face of St. Paul, the colossal build and wild air of the Baptist, are in contrast with the sleekness of the Virgin. The whole piece is a mixture of Titian and Sebastian del Piombo. The technical handling, the mould of form, the bold but imperfect folding of the drapery, are all things that point to another hand than Titian's. The modelling is not subtle enough for the great master. We miss his delicate transitions of half tone, his transparent shadows, which are here replaced by bold dark planes of pigment. No doubt some of these appearances may be due to restoring, for the panel is not free from retouches, and the profile of the Magdalen has been ground away, whilst the face of St. Paul was made opaque and heavy. Still the character of the painting is clear enough, and it seems rather to be a fine firstling work of Andrea Schiavone when in Titian's atelier than a masterpiece of the consummate artist, Titian. Originally in the Casa Grimani at Venice; it was engraved by Jacob Folkema, and lithographed by Haufstängl.

Dresden Museum, No. 231.—Portrait of a lady in a dress of madder-red stuff, with narrow sleeves, the left hand on the brown cloth of a table, the right holding a marten boa, with a golden clasp. Knee-piece, on canvas, 4 f. 9 h. by 3 f. 1½. This picture is of a peach-red tone, unrelieved by shadow, but injured by stippling. Yet it is still sufficiently well preserved to display the manner of Bernardino Licinio. The hands are fairly preserved. Originally in Modena; it was restored at Dresden in 1826. Lithographed by Hanfstängl.

Dresden Museum, No. 227.—Portrait of a lady in mourning with a veil and rosary. Knee-piece, on canvas, 3 f. 8 h. by 3 f. 1; from the Modena collection. Here again we have the name of Titian covering the treatment of an imitator of Tintoretto and the Bassanos. Engraved by Basan.

Dresden Museum, No. 234.—"The Angel and Tobit."

Canvas, 6 f. h. by 4 f. 1. This is a copy of Titian's picture in San Marziale at Venice by a Venetian.

Dresden Museum, No. 226.—Portrait of lady, her auburn hair plaited with pearls, her throat bare, a string of pearls round her neck, bare armed in a red plain dress with a laced bodice. She holds with both hands a Greek vase. This canvas, 3 f. 8 h. by 3 f. 1 is so completely covered over with modern repainting that it is hard to say whether it was ever an original by Titian. It may be a work of one of Titian's pupils. Engraved by Felice Polanzano. Lithographed by Hanfstängl.

Dresden Museum, No. 224.—"The Virgin and Child, and St. Joseph adored by a kneeling donor, his Wife and Child." This is not an original Titian, but work of a disciple. (See *antea*, note to vol. i., p. 188.) From the Modena Collection, engraved by Jac. Folkema (ann. 1752) and E. Fessard. Lithographed by Hanfstängl. Canvas, 4 f. 1 h. by 5 f. 9.

Berlin Museum, No. 162.—"Epiphany," wood, 1 f. $7\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 2 f. $1\frac{3}{4}$. No. 164.—"The Visitation," wood, 1 f. $0\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 1 f. $6\frac{1}{4}$. No. 168.—"The Epiphany," wood, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. h. by 1 f. 2. No. 171.—"The Epiphany," wood, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 f. 3. No. 172.—"The Circumcision," wood, 1 f. $0\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 1 f. $6\frac{3}{4}$. Sketches, in themselves spirited, and Titianesque in style, partake of the character of the school of Titian and Bonifazio, and more particularly of that of Schiavone or Santo Zago; the best is No. 162, the poofest No. 172.

Berlin Museum, No. 170A.—"Parable of the Steward;" canvas, 10 in. h. by 2 f. $6\frac{3}{4}$; signed "Titianus." The steward comes into the room, and the rich man sits at the table. Through a doorway to the left, the steward talking to the debtors. No. 170B., companion to 170A.—"Parable of the Vineyard." The owner of the vineyard stands with his back to the spectator, pointing to the husbandmen, and sending out two servants on the left. In the distance to the left a group stands round a changer's table. These are pretty and clever sketches of a pleasant tone in the style of Lorenzo Lotto.

Berlin Museum (not exhibited).—Portrait of a doge seated

and turned to the right. This picture on canvas, half-length of life-size, was purchased as a Titian, but is a fine example of Tintoretto.

Berlin Museum, No. 159 and No. 160.—Wood, each 2 f. 2½ h. by 2 f. 3½. The first of these panels represents two figures of Eros wrestling, the second two figures of Eros also wrestling in the presence of a third, who is seated, holding an apple. They are freely executed with a brush full of liquid pigment, but in a rubby and sketchy manner. The shadows are dark and slightly opaque. The treatment is very like that of Schiavone.

Berlin Museum, No. 202.—The Virgin enthroned between St. Peter and Paul on the right, and St. Francis and Anthony of Padua on the left. An angel plays a guitar at the foot of the throne, and two angels above support the folds of a green curtain. Distance landscape. Canvas, 8 f. 11 h. by 6 f. 3. There are several points in this picture which preclude the authorship of Titian; the heavy cast of form and coarse extremities, bricky untransparent tone, opaque shadow, and sharp drapery tints. The execution is like, but beneath that of Damiano Mazza or Lodovico Fiumicelli, pupils of Titian.

Cassel Gallery, No. 23.—Cleopatra naked to the waist, lying insensible on a couch in a grotto. To the right, through the opening of the cave, are figures of Roman soldiers, and close to the shore of the Mediterranean, galleys lying at anchor; canvas, half-length of life-size. The right hand of Cleopatra on the blue lining of her coverlet is fine; equally so the left, the fingers of which grasp the coverlet. A snake winding under the armpit to the bosom explains the subject of the picture, which is a well painted though not well preserved specimen of the art of Cesare Vecelli. The head and right arm are particularly injured. Photographed by G. Schauer of Berlin.

Cassel Gallery, No. 20.—Canvas knee-piece representing a lady turned to the right, holding a cross in the right, a book in the left hand. This is a much injured picture recalling the manner of Padovanino.

Cassel Gallery, No. 24.—Portrait of a lady in black in a hat. The raw pigments disfigured by retouching were not laid on by Titian.

Cassel Gallery, No. 22.—Virgin and Child adored by a kneeling man, St. Joseph and St. Catherine attending. Background landscape. This picture has no claim to the name of Titian, which it bears.

Brunswick Museum, No. 227.—"Cleopatra;" panel. This is not a Venetian picture. No. 16.—A girl in a feathered hat; bust on canvas. This looks like a Spanish picture by a follower of Murillo.

Ex Rinecker Collection, Würzburg.—The Virgin under a tree, on which a green drapery is hanging, adores the infant Christ on her knee. Two angels bend in adoration at the sides. Distance, a mountainous landscape and a city. This beautiful composition is not executed in the manner of Titian, but betrays the feebler handling of Polidoro Lanzani. When in possession of Mr. Artaria at Mannheim, the picture was engraved by Anderloni, and so became widely known. It is on canvas, m. 0.49 h. by 0.67.

Mayence Gallery, No. 132.—A Bacchanal, in which a man is seated drawing wine from a cask, whilst two females are sleeping and one dancing, and a man in the foreground presents his back to the spectator. In the distance to the left, a man holds a cup aloft, and another carries a standard; on a wall to the right, we read: "TITIANI." This picture is by some unknown artist of the eighteenth century.

Darmstadt Museum, No. 519.—Portrait of a nobleman, bareheaded, bearded, turned three-quarters to the right, his right hand on his haunch, in a black silk dress trimmed with silk. On the dark ground to the right are the words: "MDLXV DIE OCTOBRIS ANNO ÆTA SVA LX . . . XI." This is not a Titian, but a fine though not uninjured Tintoretto.

Stuttgardt Gallery, No. 10.—The Virgin sits in a landscape and presents the infant Christ to the kneeling St. Jerom, behind whom the lion couches. To the left St. Rosalie takes flowers from a basket at her side; canvas, 4 f. 7 h. by 6. f. 7.5. This picture is a duplicate of one

catalogued in the Museum of Glasgow as a copy from Titian (No. 159). It is greatly disfigured by repaints, but still shows some reminiscences of Palma Vecchio and Titian. It may be by Polidoro Lanzani.

Stuttgardt Gallery, No. 162; canvas, 2 f. 4½ h. by 1 f. 8. —The Virgin giving the infant Christ flowers out of a basket. Repainted copy or imitation of some Titianesque picture. No. 148.—The same subject in another form is likewise a spurious Titian.

Stuttgardt Gallery, No. 94.—Much injured canvas, by a follower of the manner of Schiavone and Bonifazio. The subject is the Virgin holding the Child, who gives the ring to St. Catharine.

Stuttgardt Gallery, No. 205.—Bust of a young man. Not genuine.

Stuttgardt Gallery, No. 187.—Shepherds and their flocks in a landscape, at eventide. This is a picture altogether out of the sphere of Titian's practice.

Munich Gallery, No. 450.—The Virgin adoring the infant Christ on her lap. St. Anthony the Abbot, to the right, supports one hand with his staff and takes the foot of Christ with the other. To the left is St. Jerom, with St. Francis in front of him, bending before Christ. Distance a landscape. Though this canvas is handed down to us as a genuine Titian, having been, we may believe, in the Van Uffel Collection at Antwerp in the seventeenth century (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 259), the execution is not that of the great Venetian master. Notwithstanding heavy repainting, we still discern the style of an artist much akin to Francesco Vecelli. What distinguishes the treatment from that of Titian is a certain affectation of grace, a combination of small features with large thick-set forms, unctuous medium, and a reddish uniformity of flesh-tint. Amongst the parts more evidently disfigured by retouching we should note the head and hand of St. Anthony, and the foot of the Infant, and the hands of St. Francis, and the sky. The picture is on canvas, and measures 3 f. 2 h. by 4 f. 3½.

Munich Gallery, No. 524.—"Venus initiating a Bac-

chante." This canvas is a reminiscence of the "Education of Cupid" at the Borghese Palace and the Davalos "Allegory" at the Louvre. The sharp contrasts of the colours and the developed forms of the figures show it to be a picture of a date subsequent to Titian's time. A similar subject similarly treated will be found in the Durazzo Palace at Genoa.

Munich Gallery, No. 489.—Portrait of a noble with his right hand on a long wand of office; his left on the handle of his sword; half-length, turned to the left, and dressed in a dark pelisse. This is a splendid portrait, injured by repainting, but originally by Tintoretto.

Munich Gallery, No. 124.—Portrait bust of a man in full front behind a parapet on which are the ciphers MDXXIII. This portrait, long held to be Titian, is now catalogued under the name of Moretto; but in spite of restoring still looks like a work of Paris Bordone in his early style.

Prague Kunstverein, No. 37.—"Portrait of the Duchess Anna Catharina Gonzaga;" canvas, representing a life-sized figure of a little girl in white. She stands near a table, on which she lays one hand holding a rose. Near her on the table a little dog and a book. In the upper corner to the right, a curtain. Inscribed: "ANNA CATHERINA GONZAGA, ANN. IX MENS . . . MDLXXV CAL. MAI. This picture is neither good in itself nor is it by Titian.

Prague Kunstverein, No. 51.—Portrait of a man in a black silk dress and cap at a table, holding a music-book. Though much repainted, this piece still recalls the manner of Paris Bordone.

Vienna Gallery.—"Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery;" canvas, 3 f. 3½ h. by 4 f. 2. On the left, Christ is moving away, but looks round to the right as he hears the charge. His hair is dark and long, his beard close cut, his complexion blanched, his features full and plump. The tunic, which should be red, is washed down to the grey preparation, and the right hand, lying on the breast, is partially lost in a chalky after-tint. Close to the right of Christ, and staring, as with one hand he holds up the scroll engrossed

with a copy of the law, an old grey-beard appears; next him, to the right, a man pressing forward grasping the arm of the adulteress, his face in profile looking at the Saviour. Beneath the green pigment which tints the cap on his head are traces of red and sweeps of brush indicating an ear. This man's dress is of a reddish-brown. He drags the adulteress towards the Saviour whilst his companion at the other side, holding the woman by the skirt, moves away in an opposite direction, presenting his back, clad with a gown of indistinct yellow. Between the two the adulteress, with bare throat and bosom, her white under-garment surging up out of a grey bodice, advances with downcast head and eyes. In rear of her, two men show their heads above the press—one to the right in shadow against the sky, one to the left half concealed by the dark fall of drapery which relieves the form of Christ and the lawyer. The whole composition has an unfinished and sketchy aspect, with traces of corrections half carried out, thin washy pigments, and impast touches here and there. A strip added to the canvas above and below seems to counterbalance the loss of strips cut off the vertical sides of the picture. The questions which arise in respect of this piece are multifarious. Is it a genuine Titian? Was it ever finished? Is it a finished picture injured and but partially retouched? A copy of the piece in its original form assigned to Varottari, but probably by his sister, Chiara Varottari, exists in the Gallery of Padua; canvas, m. 0.98 h. by 1.50. Here the colours are preserved. The dress of Christ is red and blue, the mantle held up and passing through the fingers of his right hand. The man dragging the adulteress forward wears a red cap and a red mantle with a striped lining. The bodice of the adulteress is green, the gown of the man on the right red, over green slashed hose. The head of the man in rear to the left of the girl is not concealed in any part by the curtain. The whole of the shoulders of Christ and of the man at the opposite side of the composition is seen. If it be correct to assume that the Paduan duplicate is a copy of the original at Vienna, it is clear that the latter has been cut down, washed away, and retouched. If we inquire whether

the Vienna canvas is an original Titian or not, there is some reason for thinking that it is not so, the forms being much below those of Titian in elevation, and the style of rendering less grand. The execution, too, looks more modern, whilst the arrangement betrays none of the consummate skill which we acknowledge in the master. It may be presumed that the Vienna example was an imitation of Titian by Varottari, altered by some unfortunate subsequent manipulation. The attempt at restoring betrays the hand of a Fleming, whose style is not very far removed from that of Van Dyke. The presumption that Varottari originally executed the picture at Vienna is strengthened by such of his pictures as are met with in galleries; for instance, his copy of Titian's "Salomé with the Head of the Baptist," No. 287 in the Paduan Gallery, and the head of a female, No. 343 in the Museum of Dresden. There is an engraving of the Vienna example in Teniers' Gallery work. Photograph by Miethke and Wawra.

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of a young girl of twenty; on canvas, 5 f. h. by 2 f. 4. The girl, in full front view, wears a dark claret-coloured dress with a jewelled girdle, a boa is wound round her wrist, and in her left hand she holds a pair of gloves. Her auburn hair is plaited and twined round her head. The surface has been rubbed down to such an extent that the flesh parts look empty and feeble; and this may cause the impression at present derived from the picture, that it is not an original Titian but a canvas by Andrea Schiavone. The gloves in the left hand are repainted.

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of a sculptor; canvas, 2 f. 8 h. by 2.2. Profile view of a man in a black silk dress on grey ground. He turns to look at the spectator, and holds in both hands a small torso. This was long considered to be a portrait of the surgeon Vesalius by Titian. But no likeness can be discovered between it and the half-length engraved in the Anatomy of Vesalius, and the painter is not Titian but Morone. Krafft (Hist. krit. Catalogue, *u.s.*) and Waagen (Kunstdenkmäler in Wien) cling to the identity of Vesalius, but suggest the authorship of Calcar, which cannot be sustained.

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of a man in a black cap and black silk dress with his left hand on the hilt of his sword; canvas, 3 f. 6 h. by 2 f. 7. This picture has been damaged by repainting, but fragments, such as the ear and hand, display a treatment different from that of Titian.

Vienna Gallery.—"Christ with his Hand on the Orb," 2 ft. 7 h., 1 ft. 10½. The figure is seen nearly in full front and down to the breast, on a dark ground. There are reminiscences in this piece of Titian and Bonifazio, but it is too feeble for either. The outlines are in part re-touched, but one still traces the hand of a modern of the class of Padovanino. There is a duplicate of this work in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; supposed to have been in the collection of Rubens. (See Krafft's Catalog.)

Vienna Gallery.—"Amor playing a Tambourine;" on canvas 1 ft. 6½ square, a naked boy seated in a landscape, bought in the Netherlands by the Archduke Leopold William, and engraved in Teniers' Gallery work. All the surface glazing having been removed, the flesh looks white and stony, and unrelieved by shadow of any kind. It is hard under these circumstances to say more than that the picture is not by Titian. The landscape is certainly more like the work of a Fleming than that of a Venetian.

Vienna Gallery.—"Adoration of the Kings." Wood 1 ft. 10 h. by 1 ft. 6. This is probably the original sketch of an altar-piece by Cesare Vecelli in San Stefano of Belluno, which many judges have held erroneously to be an original Titian. (Compare Krafft, *u.s.*, and Waagen's Kunstdenkmäler, p. 211.)

Vienna Gallery.—"Jacob's Dream;" on canvas, 3 ft. 5 h., by 5 ft. 3. Under a black stormy sky and to the left of a group of high trees, the ladder is seen stretching from the ground into the clouds. There are figures on the foreground of shepherds and cattle. This is not a Titian, but a characteristic work of Pedro Orrente, a Spaniard who was born at Montealegre, and died in 1644 at Toledo. Orrente studied under Domenico delle Greche at Toledo, and from him probably acquired a partiality for the works of Bassano, which

he successfully imitated. His landscape effects are described as "worthy of Titian," and this is true of the "Dream of Jacob."

Vienna Gallery.—Portrait of a jeweller in three different views. Busts on canvas, 1 ft. 7 h. by 2 ft. 5. This picture is by Lorenzo Lotto.

Vienna: Academy of Arts, No. 333.—"Winged Cupid" with the quiver slung to his shoulder, the bow in his hand, seated in a landscape. This smiling child is plump in form and hastily painted on canvas. But the surface of the whole work is altered by washing and re-touching, and doubts may well be entertained as to its genuineness.

Vienna: Czernin Collection.—"The Duke Alfonso of Ferrara kneeling before an angel, who presents a green cloth, on which the crucified Saviour is depicted." Background, landscape. This panel—2 ft. 6 h. by 2 ft. 9—is not by Titian, but by Paris Bordone.

Vienna: Czernin Collection.—"The Magdalen." Half length, with the arms crossed over the bosom, a book and a vase in front. This is not a genuine Titian, for whom it is much too tasteless and coarse.

Vienna: Lichtenstein Collection, No. 306.—"The Virgin and Child, attended by St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine." Half lengths on canvas, m. 0.65 h. by m. 0.94. The Virgin sits to the right with the infant Christ on her lap in front of a red curtain. To the left St. John, bareheaded in a green tunic, next him St. Catherine in profile. A very bright little picture of the early period of Andrea Schiavone. Finely photographed by Miethke and Wawra.

St. Petersburg: Hermitage, No. 93.—"Virgin and Child," half length, in a niche, on panel but transferred to canvas. With the exception of the forehead and mouth of the Virgin most of the surface of this work is defaced. If by Titian at all, it is a picture of his early period.

St. Petersburg: Leuchtemberg Collection, No. 82.—The Virgin, seated on the ground, is turned to the right, and holds on her knee the infant Christ, who gives a hand to the kneeling St. Paul. To the left, St. John the Baptist is

seated. Distance, trees and landscape. Canvas 2 ft. 4 h. by 3 ft. 10.4. This picture shows a mixture of the styles of Palma Vecchio and Titian. The contours recall Pordenone. The colour is uniform and of a ruddy tinge; the total impression is that of a work by Bernardino Licinio. The head of the Virgin, looking round at the Baptist, is injured; that of the Baptist equally so.

St. Petersburg: Leuchtemberg Collection.—Portrait of a man turned to the left, standing near an opening through which a landscape is seen, with an open folio on a table before him. He wears a cap and is heavily bearded. The left hand clings to the hem of his coat; canvas 3 ft. 2 h. by 2 ft. 7½. This picture looks most like the work of a Bergamasque of the stamp of Cariani.

St. Petersburg: Leuchtemberg Collection.—The Virgin sits at the foot of a stone plinth, with St. George holding his lance on the right, and St. John the Baptist on the left sitting and giving his hand to the infant Christ, who lies on his mother's lap. Canvas, 2 ft. 9.4 h. by 3 ft. 8½. This is a graceful picture by Paris Bordone.

St. Petersburg: Lazarew Collection.—"Ecce Homo between two Soldiers;" half lengths, on canvas, of life-size. This is an imitation of Andrea Schiavone in the manner of Pietro della Vecchia. (But Compare Waagen, Hermitage, p. 429, who inclines for Tintoretto.)

St. Petersburg: Collection of Count Paul Stroganoff.—"The Virgin in Lamentation" (bust, turned to the left), wringing her hands, a white veil on her head. This canvas looks like an imitation of Titian by a painter not an Italian.

Louvre, No. 475.—"A Knight of the Order of Malta;" canvas, m. 0.60 h., by 0.51. Bust of life-size, three-quarters to the left. The man has a red beard and a pelisse with a collar of white fur spotted with black. The treatment is not that of Titian. The rawness of the tones and thinness of the pigment recall Calisto da Lodi or some similar imitator of the pure Venetian manner.

Louvre, No. 463.—"Christ between a Soldier and Executioner." Wood, round, m. 1.14 in diameter, Christ is

almost in profile, with his hands bound behind his back. The helmeted soldier in armour is on the left, the executioner on the right. This is a fine work in the style of Schiavone.

Louvre, No. 467.—"The Council of Trent." This is a Titianesque sketch of prelates with a guard of officers and soldiers listening to a bishop. The style is that of Andrea Schiavone.

Louvre, No. 474.—Portrait of a man half length; canvas, m. 0.99 h. by 0.82. This portrait represents a bare-headed nobleman with a long beard, his left elbow on the plinth of a column, his right on the hilt of his sword. It is a grand creation in the style of Pordenone rather than in the manner of Titian.

Rouen Museum, No. 357.—Portrait of a man turned to the left, in a black cap. The plaited shirt falls into a square-cut vest; canvas, m. 0.47 h. by 0.35. This injured picture is retouched, and possibly taken from some older picture; but whether of Titian or another artist it is hard to determine. In the same collection is an old and poor copy of the "Christ of the Tribute Money" at Dresden.

London: National Gallery, No. 32.—"The Rape of Ganymede." This octogon canvas, 5 ft. 8 in diameter, may have been executed from one of Titian's designs. It was probably painted by Domenico Mazza. (Ridolfi Mar. i. 290.) It represents Ganymede carried upon the back of the eagle. Engraved by G. Audran, D. Cunego and J. Outrim; it was once in the Colonna palace at Rome, and in remote times, perhaps, in the collection of Francesco Assonica. It was brought to England in 1800 by Mr. Day, passed into the hands of Mr. Angerstein, and was bought for the nation in 1824. It has been frequently restored, and once by Carlo Maratta. (See Catalogue of the National Gallery.)

London: *National Gallery*, No. 3.—"A Concert," on canvas. Five figures, half length, 3 ft. 2 h., by 4 ft. 1. This picture was in the Mantuan and Whitehall Galleries, and also belonged to Mr. Angerstein. It is almost a counterpart of a similar piece in the Brunswick Gallery, and is far below Titian's powers, betraying rather the hand of

Schiavone or Zelotti, than that of a better master. Engraved by H. Danckerts, J. Groensvelt, and J. Garner. (Compare Bathoe's Catalogue, and Darco, Pitt. Mant. ii. 160.)

Late Northwick Collection, No. 52.—"Portrait of Bramante;" half length on canvas, 3 ft. 2 h. by 2 ft. 4. This is the likeness of an old grey-bearded man, in a pelisse, with a pair of goggles in his right, and gloves in his left hand. He leans one elbow on a table—ground, brown. There is reason to think that this was a very faithful portrait of some one, but some one that is not Bramante. The features are the exact counterpart of those of Oderico Piloni, painted by Cesare Vecelli, and still preserved in the Villa Piloni near Belluno. To the question whether this is a portrait by Titian or his nephew, the answer may be that it is too good for Cesare, though but moderately good for Titian. But we may think Cesare in his early time and under the direction of his uncle, might paint such a likeness, and it is to be observed that the face of Piloni is younger than it appears in Cesare's canvas.

Late Northwick Collection, No. 107.—"The Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen presenting a Chalice." This picture, on wood, is a group of half-lengths ascribed to Titian, but with some marks of the treatment of Palma Vecchio.

. *London: Labouchere Collection.*—The Virgin and Child in a landscape, with St. Joseph and the ass and St. Anthony the Abbot reading a book on the left. In front, to the right, the boy Baptist runs up holding the lamb and the reed cross, and behind a bank a boy is peeping. The scene is laid in a landscape of hilly character, with numerous figures at various distances. This richly toned and agreeable piece is not by Titian, but by Paris Bordone. It was formerly at Stratton. The figures are about half the life-size. (Compare Waagen, Treasures, ii. 419.)

London: Mrs. Butler-Johnstone, late Munro.—"St. Jerom," a small canvas, is wrongly assigned to Titian, being painted in the manner of the Bassani and Paolo Veronese.

London: Mrs. Butler-Johnstone, late Munro.—Virgin and

Child, with the young Baptist and St. Joseph, on panel, once assigned to Giorgione, now called Titian, is in the style of Schiavone.

London: Lord Yarborough, No. 47.—The Virgin and Child between St. Anne and Elizabeth, and St. Catherine and an aged male saint in a landscape. This picture, on panel, with figures of half the life-size, is either a copy from an original by Bonifazio, or an imitation of that master.

London: Apsley House.—"Orpheus charming the Beasts with Music," upright canvas ascribed to Titian, is quite in the style of Padovanino, the principal figure being seen almost in back view. The picture as a whole corresponds in many respects with a similar one in the Gallery of Madrid (No. 319), which belonged to Queen Isabella Farnese, and was for many years held to be by Titian, but is now properly catalogued as a work by Varottari.

London Mr. Holford.—Portrait of "A Duke of Milan," with a falcon in his left hand, and a dog looking up to the falcon. Full face; figure to the knees on dark-brown ground. This portrait, on canvas, is Titianesque in style. A more decided opinion would require a renewed examination.

London: Mr. Holford.—Female portrait, full face, on canvas, with one hand the lady plays with pearls. She wears a hat. This is a thinly painted Venetian picture, but not a genuine Titian.

London: Grosvenor House, No. 108.—"Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery;" canvas 4 ft. 4 h. by 5 ft., with twelve figures of life size seen to the knees. This large picture of the same class, reminds us of one once in Sant' Afra at Brescia, and there called Titian, though it was obviously by a Brescian painter. The florid style, sharp colours and conventional treatment, recalling Schiavone on the one hand and the Brescian works of the Rosas on the other, point to Lattanzio Gambara as the real author of this piece. (Exhibited 1871, at the Royal Academy.)

No. 110 in this collection is a copy of the female in the picture of the Louvre called "Titian and his Mistress."

London: Earl Dudley.—A nude goddess on a couch, much

in the character of the Venus in Titian's "Venus and Adonis," reposes on a bank covered with a red cloth, behind which two men are spectators, one of whom holds a mirror to the goddess. Distance, a landscape with a flock. This canvas, with figures large as life, is not by Titian, but displays some of the peculiarities common to the disciples of the mixed school of Titian and Pordenone. It is probably by Giulio Campi.

London: Lord Cowper.—"Portrait of Calvin." This is a bust of a man in a black cap, with a white shirt-frill, inscribed in Roman letters with the name of Calvin and the date 1530. The treatment is not even Venetian.

London: Lord Malmesbury.—"The Duke Alfonso of Ferrara and Laura Dianti;" half-lengths on canvas, 2 ft. 11 h. by 2 ft. 5. A bearded man in profile, dressed in blue with a feathered toque on his head, is looking up at a lady with her neck and bosom exposed, her hair golden, and partly covered by a turban headress. He holds a ring on her finger and presses his right hand to his heart; she leans a hand on his shoulder. This canvas, once in the Fesch Collection, is said to have been brought from Venice by General Bonaparte, in 1796. It is probably by Pietro della Vecchia, the clever imitator of Giorgione, under whose name this piece was sold (July 1, 1876) in London for £367 10*s*. It is almost needless to say that the male figure does not represent Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.

London: Lord Malmesbury.—"Lucretia." This piece, called a Titian but really a copy by a Bolognese artist of a canvas assigned to Titian in the Gallery of Hampton Court (see that heading), was sold by auction in London on the 1st of July, 1876, for £47 5*s*.

London: Marquis of Bute.—Portrait of a lady, on canvas to the knees, large as life, and turned to the left. The hair is dressed with jewels, a collar with pearls over a red dress, and puffed sleeves. In the distance a pillar. Here we have the technical treatment, not of Titian, but of Bernardino Pordenone, whose manner is more akin to that of Paris Bordone than to that of Titian.

London: Marquis of Bute.—Portrait of a grey-bearded

man, turned to the left, in a black beret cap and pelisse, near a table. Much injured canvas of the late Venetian School.

London: Lord Ashburton.—Herodias' daughter followed by an old man, and carrying the head of the Baptist on a plate. School of Bernardino Licinio or Beccaruzzi of Conegliano.

London: Stafford House, No. 18.—"Education of Cupid;" canvas, with three figures of the size of life. Venus to the left, with a sweep of yellow drapery round her hips, is standing in a grove of trees, and looking on as Cupid reads in a music book held up to him by Mercury. The left hand of Venus is on Mercury's shoulder. He is seated with the winged cap on his head, the caduceus at his back. Cupid's bow and arrows are on the ground. This picture belonged to Queen Christina, who held it to be a genuine Titian. (Campori, Raccolta, p. 339.) It passed into the Orleans Collection, at the sale of which Lord Gower bought it for £800. The picture is Titianesque indeed, but in the style of Schiavone, to whom it should be assigned.

London: Stafford House, No. 26.—St. Jerom in the wilderness, his head resting on his left hand, his body turned to the left. This canvas represents the saint of the full size of nature. It is quite as much in the style of Schiavone as the "Venus and Mercury."

London: Stafford House, No. 36.—Portrait of a cardinal. Here we have the brush-stroke of a Bolognese of the seventeenth century.

Dulwich Gallery, No. 81.—"The Infant Jesus." Neither this nor any other picture assigned to Titian in this gallery is genuine.

Hampton Court, No. 44.—Portrait of a man in armour, with a sword belted to his waist and a black cap on his head. Half length on a brown ground, and turned three quarters to the left. This piece, on canvas, is of the Venetian School, but not by Titian. The treatment points to a follower of the schools of Tintoretto and Bassano.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 465.—Panel with figures half the life size. The Virgin, turned to the left, is seated

in a landscape, plucks a flower with her right hand, and holds a similar one in her left. The infant Christ lying in her lap also holds a flower. In the distance to the right, the angel accompanies Tobit with the dog. In the foreground is the scutcheon of some noble family. This picture corresponds to the description of one noted by Ridolfi (Mar. i. 262) in the Reinst collection. Reinst's pictures we know were in part purchased by the Dutch States, to be presented to Charles the Second. The panel is injured, and the head of the Virgin is retouched, but the drawing is less clever and appropriate, the execution less skilful than Titian's, and we can scarcely err in assuming that the author is Santo Zago, a pupil of Titian. Engraved by Vischer.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 111.—"Ignatius Loyola." Knee-piece on canvas of a man turned to the left, bare-headed in black with his right hand on a table on which is written; "AN XXV. 1545." Dark ground. The attitude is Titianesque, but the treatment is feeble, and although the surfaces are much damaged by time and retouching, the picture should rather be assigned to a disciple of Paris Bordone than to Titian. The inscription too is suspiciously renewed. Engraved in oval by Vignerson.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 118.—"Portrait of a Gentleman;" canvas bust of life size. The head is in profile and in the style of a later Venetian, such as Sebastian Ricci.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 124.—"Portrait of Titian." A copy.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 706.—Virgin and Child adored by St. Catherine and John the Baptist. This piece is not by Titian. It recalls the manner of Palma Vecchio.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 410.—"The Death of Lucretia;" canvas, with a full length, half the size of life, of Lucretia, nude, standing with a sword in her right hand, with which she is preparing to stab herself. A long red drapery floats about the head and shoulders. In the background is a landscape. This figure has none of the grace or tone of Titian's creations. The coarse herculean form, and a flush of brown tinting, point to a Venetian disciple of the master.

Yet the picture is doubtless identical with that described in the Ashmolean catalogue (Bathoe, *u. s.*) as follows: "A Mantua piece by Titian, a standing Lucretia holding with her left hand a red veil over her face, and a dagger in her other hand to stab herself, an entire figure half so big as the life, 3 ft. 2 h. by 2 ft. 1." This piece was appraised and sold by order of Cromwell for £200; but reappears in the catalogue of James the Second's collection (No. 480 of Bathoe's catalogue). A copy of it was in the collection of Lord Malmesbury (see under that head). A similar picture ascribed to Titian is noted in a Mantuan inventory of the year 1627. (See Darco, ii. p. 155.)

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 79. — "Alessandro de' Medici." This is a bust portrait on canvas of a man turned to the left, with his hair parted in the middle and brushed behind the ear. A slight moustache fringes the upper lip, the chin is beardless, the vest is cut low and shows a frilled shirt. Over all lies a dark brown pelisse with a fur collar. The right hand is on a book bound in red, lying on the parapet in front. That this portrait was engraved by Peter de Jode and A. Bonenfant as "Giovanni Boccaccio" by Titian, hardly helps us in identifying the person portrayed. The modelling of the head is lost in retouches, and the forehead and temples are especially injured. For this reason it is impossible to decide whether the picture is by Titian or not, or to determine to which of his disciples it can be assigned.

Hampton Court Gallery, No. 243.—"David and Goliath," a small panel, is apparently by a feeble disciple of the school of Schiavone.

Manchester Exhibition, No. 219.—A portrait of Verdizotti, property of Mr. Francis Edwards. This picture was clearly painted after Titian's time.

No. 228.—"Girl making Lace," property of Mr. Richard Baxter (photographed); canvas, with the figure of the girl turned to the left, a little dog at her side, on her lap a lace cushion. Work of some painter of a later time than that of Titian.

No. 234.—"The Dog of Charles the Fifth;" property of

J. Smith Barry, Esq. This is a Bolognese, not a Venetian picture.

No. 241.—"Marriage of St. Catherine," property of G. P. Grenfell, Esq. The style of this picture is akin to that of the Venetian Polidoro Lanzani.

Blenheim.—"St. Nicholas" and "St. Catherine," of life size, on canvas,—two figures copied from Titian's "Madonna" of San Niccolò de' Frari now at the Vatican, and painted in reverse,—seem the work of a German copyist of the stamp of Christopher Schwarz.

Blenheim.—"St. Sebastian," of life size, with his right arm over his head. The figure, covered at the hips with a cloth, is seen in full front in a landscape. This is a fine picture without the masculine strength and power of Titian. It has been injured by repainting.

Christchurch: Oxford.—"The Duke of Alva;" canvas, half-length large as life. The figure, bare-headed and in black, wears the collar of the Golden Fleece, and stands near an opening through which a landscape is seen. The left hand on a table is fairly executed in the Venetian manner, but the rest of the picture is utterly ruined by repainting, and it is impossible to recognize the style of Titian.

The "Virgin and Child," half-length, assigned to Titian, is a very feeble and not genuine production.

Chatsworth, seat of the Duke of Devonshire.—"St. John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness." The Saint to the right under a tree speaks with outstretched arm to a crowd seated in the centre of the picture; near him the lamb is resting. To the left several women are standing. In the distance Christ is seen approaching. Distance, hills and sky. This is a fine spirited sketchy piece of Andrea Schiavone's best time. Some dulness of tone is due to retouching and old varnish, and the sky especially is repainted. The canvas is large, but the nearest figures are under a quarter of life size. (Compare Waagen's divergent opinion in Treasures, iii. 347.) A picture with this subject was once in the Muselli collection at Verona. (See Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, p. 187.)

Chatsworth.—A girl presents fruit to her father and mother, the latter standing in the foreground at the side of the former, who is seated. This canvas, with figures to the knees, is by Paris Bordone, to whom it is properly ascribed by Dr. Waagen. (Treasures, iii. 351.)

Chatsworth.—The Virgin and Child with St. Joseph in a landscape. The boy St. John approaches from the right. This picture is not by Titian, but by a painter of the seventeenth century.

Chatsworth.—"A Mastiff Dog and Cubs." This large canvas, originally in the Cornaro Palace at Venice, was acknowledged by Sir Joshua Reynolds as a genuine Titian. It is much repainted, yet still displays the hand of an artist of the seventeenth century such as Philip Roos or Benedetto Castiglione.

Longford Castle, No. 133.—Full-length of a man standing near a pillar on the top of which his helmet is lying. On the helmet he rests his hand, the head being turned to look at the spectator. On the ground to the right is a book. This picture, ascribed to Titian, is by Morone.

Longford Castle, No. 146.—Half-length of a sculptor with his hand on the head of a statue. The face is that of a young man. The painter is not Titian but Tintoretto.

Bowood.—The Virgin is seated with the infant Christ standing on her lap. She gives the Child some fruit, whilst the young Baptist on the left holds up a scroll inscribed with the words "Ecce Agnus Dei." A glory of rays and cherubs' heads surrounds the group. This is a duplicate with varieties of a similar piece (No. 590) at the Uffizi in Florence, where the Baptist holds the foot of the infant Christ, and the Virgin is not presenting a fruit. The style is easily recognised in both pictures as that of Marco Vecelli. The Bowood duplicate corresponds to the description of a canvas noted by Ridolfi (Marav. i. 262) in the Vidman collection at Venice. (Compare also Sansovino, Ven. Descritta, p. 376.)

Alnwick.—Portrait of an admiral in a feathered cap and in armour seen to the knees at three-quarters to the left, with the left hand on a chiselled dagger, and the right on a helmet

resting on a table. This likeness, of life-size, was originally in the Barberini, then in the Camuccini, collections in Rome. It looks more like a Morone than a Titian.

Alnwick. — "Portrait of a Member of the Barbarigo Family" (?). The treatment is too thin and empty for Titian, and recalls Morto da Feltre or Pellegrino da San Daniele.

Edinburgh: Royal Institution, No. 65.—"Adoration of the Magi;" on canvas, 7 ft. 9 h. by 6 ft. This picture was formerly in the Palazzo Balbi at Genoa, and is clearly a work of Bassano.

Edinburgh: Royal Institution, No. 157.—A landscape on panel, 6 ft. 6 long, by 1 ft. 8. Bought from the Duke of Vivaldi Pasqua. This is a Flemish and not a Venetian picture.

Edinburgh: Royal Institution, No. 166.—Panel, 1 ft. 7 h. by 1 ft. 8½. Virgin, Child, and St. Catherine presenting flowers. This picture, ascribed to Titian, is nearer the level of Polidoro Lanzani, though feeble even for him.

Longniddy, seat of the Earl of Wemyss.—A girl initiated to the mysteries of Venus. Near her to the right Venus and the boy Cupid with an arrow. A satyr behind raises aloft a basket with a couple of doves; and another a bundle of fruit. The same theme is worked in another way in a picture assigned to Titian at Munich (see Munich), of which this is a variety. But the execution here is very modern.

Dalkeith Palace.—"The Duke of Alva in Armour;" half-length on canvas. The body is turned to the right, the face to the left. The right hand holds a helmet, the left is in the act of pointing. This is not a genuine Titian, though a careful and interesting picture and probably a true likeness of Alva.

Portrait of a little girl in leading strings, with a dog near her. To the right is the hand, arm, and part of the figure of a person holding the strings. The distance is architecture. The name of Titian is not justified. The treatment is that of a Bolognese craftsman.

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow.—Philip the Second standing with the emblems of his dignities, near a pillar at the

entrance to a temple. Near him to the right the kneeling figure of Fame. This canvas, with figures of life-size, seems to have been executed by a German or Fleming who had some personal intercourse with Titian. The forms are too poor and slender, the drawing and modelling are too trivial, for the great master, the colour too liquid and thin. Profuse ornament reveals a taste foreign to the Venetian school.

Hamilton Palace.—Half-length on canvas of an admiral in armour, with one hand on his hip, the other near a helmet resting on a table. The figure is turned to the right. In the background is a pillar; and a red curtain partially intercepts a view of a galley floating on the sea. The style is that of Paolo Veronese.

Hamilton Palace.—Full-length of life size on canvas of a captain in armour. He stands near a table, on which his right arm reposes. Near the arm a helmet. This picture, once under the name of Giorgione, is now called a Titian, and reminds us of Morone, but it is injured and unworthy of any one of the artists named.

Hamilton Palace.—Portrait of an old man seated and turned to the left. His hair and beard are white, his features are dry and bony; on the book we read "L. CORNARO Æ. sua. . . . 1566." According to the chronologies Luigi or Alvise Cornaro of Padua died in 1565. If this signature be genuine, he died a year later than is generally supposed. (See vol. i. of this Life, p. 130.) The picture is not by Titian, but by an imitator of Tintoretto and Bassano.

Hamilton Palace.—Portrait of a man in a dark pelisse and bare-headed. This bust on canvas, though carefully painted by a Venetian artist, is not a genuine Titian.

Dublin International Exhibition.—Portrait of a friar facing and looking at the spectator whilst pointing at a human skull. This picture, though assigned to Titian, is by an artist of the class of Gaspar de Crayer, that is, by a follower of Van Dyke and Rubens.

In the same exhibition, No. 67, was a portrait of a man in a plumed cap and rich dress called Cesar Borgia, and assigned to Titian. The picture is not genuine.

The following is a list of pictures noticed in books as works of Titian. A few of the pieces registered may be identical with some of those noted in foregoing pages, but there is no means of proving their identity:—

Venice: S. Andrea della Certosa.—Christ carrying his cross. This piece was seen by Sansovino (Ven. desc. p. 79), but must have been removed before the middle of the seventeenth century, as Boschini does not notice it. *Gesuati.*—Pope Urban gives the dress of his order to the *beato* Colombini. This was a canvas on the organ shutter of the Gesuati assigned by Vasari (xiii. 110) to one Jacopo Fallaro, but by Boschini (Miniere Sest di D. Duro, p. 19) to Titian. *S. Fantino: Scuola.*—St. Jerom. (Vas. xiii. 29.) This picture perished by fire. *S. Gio. e Paolo.*—Virgin and Child, S. Anna, and other saints. This monochrome, originally on the tomb of the Doge Trevisani, was seen by Zanetti (Pitt. Ven. p. 169) in a room of the convent, and has since been missing. *Casa Pisani.*—Portrait of a lady. (Vas. xiii. 43.) *Casa C. Orsetti.*—Two portraits and Christ at the column. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 263.) *G. B. Rota.*—Virgin. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 263.) *B. della Nave.*—1. Virgin, Child, and Saints. 2. Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery. 3. Portraits. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 263.) *Casa Zuan Antonio.—Venier.* Two half-lengths of men assaulting each other. (Anon. Morelli, p. 73.) *Casa Giovanni Danna.*—Virgin and Child, with portraits male and female, including children. (Vas. xiii. 21; Sansov. Ven. desc. p. 212.) *Casa M. P. Servio.*—St. Jerom. (Anon. 89.) *Casa Grimani a Santa Maria Formosa.*—Portrait of Cardinal Domenico Grimani. (Cicogna, Isc. Ven., i. 190.) *Casa Grimani a S. Ermagora.*—Portrait of a Senator. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 220.) Virgin and Saints. (Ib. i. 260.) *Casa Assonica.*—Portrait of Francesco Assonica. (Vas. xiii. 43.) *Casa Odoni.*—Virgin and Child, young Baptist and a female saint in a landscape. (Anon. Morelli, p. 62; and see National

Gallery, *antea*, i. p. 208.) *Signor Cristofori Oroboni* (seventeenth century).—Christ crowned with Thorns with a Soldier. 2. A Woman with auburn Hair. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. p. 375.) *Girolamo e Francesco Contarini.*—Portrait of Charles the Fifth. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 456.) *Casa Ram.*—Portrait of Zuanne Ram with his back to the spectator. (Anon. ed. Morelli, 79.) *Palazzo dell'Abate Grimani.*—The Flight into Egypt. (Sansov. Ven. desc. 375). *Renier Coll.*—St. Sebastian bound to the column.—Portrait of a lady with blonde hair, dressed in blue. Portrait of a widow with a beautiful hand called Clelia Farnese, wood. St. Francis, full length in a landscape, holding a cross. (See Reinst Coll.) Round of an angel flying in air having struck a man who lies on the ground with a sword and shield. (Campori, Racc. 443.) *Signor Bernardo Giunti.*—A Male Portrait. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 262.) *Casa Franceschi.*—St. Sebastian. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 263.) *Casa Gussoni.*—The Virgin and Child and an aged man in a black vest with his hand on his haunch. (Ridolfi, i. 260.) Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este. (Ib.) Half length of a female with two men in armour. (Ib.) *Casa Francesco Contarini.*—The Virgin and Child. (Anon. ed. Morelli, 230; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 260; Tizianello's Anon. 11.) *Casa Malipiero a San Samuele.*—The Virgin and Child. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 262.) Portrait of Caterino Malipiero, who died in a naval encounter in 1571. (Ib.) *Reinst Coll.*—Portrait of a Senator. St. Francis in tears looking at a crucifix in his hand, with a landscape distance. (Ridolfi, i. 262.) *Barbarigo Coll.*—Pan and Syrinx. This picture was still in the Barbarigo collection in 1845.

Vicenza: Casa Negri.—Virgin and Child seated with the boy St. John, St. Joachim and St. Anna. Half length of the Saviour. (Mosca, Descr. di Vicenza, 8vo, Vicenza, ii. 74.)

Padua: Monsignor Bonfio.—Magdalen. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 259.) *Palace of the Dogaressa Grimani.*—Christ bearing his cross, near him the executioner with a dagger at his side. (Ib.) *Casa Galeazzo Orologio.*—Female with an orb of crystal in which a small child is seen, a youth with snakes in his hand and a monster with fruit. (Ib.)

Mantua Palace in 1527.—1. Virgin and Child with a donor and his two sons. 2. Lucretia. 3. Nativity. 4. Virgin, Child, and St. Catherine. 5. A naked boy. 6. A dishevelled woman and a boy with an orb. (Darco, Pitt. Mant. ii. 154—168.)

Verona: Casa Muselli.—1. Virgin and Child, to whom St. Catherine kneels and gives the ring; at the other side the boy St. John; half lengths, a little under size of nature. 2. Virgin and Child caressed by the young Baptist; at the side St. James. Figures of more than one braccia. 3. Charles the Fifth in a brocade dress with a pelisse of ermine, holding a sceptre, and one hand on the hilt of his sword, more than half length of life size. 4. A Magdalen with dishevelled hair; life size. 5. Portrait of a man without a beard wearing a cap leaning his head on one hand; life size. 6. Virgin and Child turned to St. Catherine, who gives the ring; St. Joseph holding the Child; 1 braccia and ¼ h. by 1½. 7. Virgin with the Child turned towards a saint kneeling with her arms crossed over her breast with St. Anna and St. Joseph at the sides (the Child and Virgin's mantle injured). 8. Landscape with St. John preaching; ascribed to Titian because like his style in the trees and figures, size 1¼ braccia h. by 1½. (See Chatsworth.) 9. A Venus lying on the ground, her head on her arms, and Amor at her feet; "ascribed to Titian." 10. Portrait of a jeweller—according to Ridolfi, Pietro de' Benedetti—at a table on which are lying tools and a gilt helmet surmounted by a white eagle holding in its beak a column and a medal inscribed with the name of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland. Distance, architecture and landscape. 11 and 12. Portraits of a man without a beard in the black dress of a prelate, and a bearded man with one hand on a pedestal and a bundle of letters in the other, dressed in a pelisse, both 2 braccia square. (Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, pp. 178—92; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 252—258, ii. 238; and Scanelli, Microcosmo, 222.) *Moscardo Coll.* (1672).—1. Portrait of a man with jewels in his hand. 2. Portrait of a captain in armour. 3. Portrait of an old man. 4. Virgin, Child, and John the Baptist. 5. Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. 6. The Virgin and

Child on the ass with St. Joseph. 7. Venus, Mars, and Cupid. (See the Curtoni Coll.) 8. A head of the Virgin. 9. A nude Venus. 10. Head of an old man. 11. Christ crowned with thorns. 12. Small portrait of the Doge Sebastiano Venier. (Note . . del Museo Moscardo, 4to, Verona, MDCLXXII.) *Casa P. Curtoni.*—Virgin and Child with St. Catherine and the Baptist. The same subject with full lengths. The Saviour. A bust of St. Sebastian. Lot and his daughters. Fragment with a likeness of a doge and two other half lengths. Venus, Mars, and Amor. Venus. Venus and Amor (bis). Jove hurling thunderbolts. Sacrifice of Calchas. A Satyr. Portrait of a Senator. A doge of Venice. Shepherds with an ox. Virgin and Child with St. Joseph. Virgin and Child, St. Joseph, and St. John. Virgin and Child, St. Joachim and another saint. Head of an old man. Head of a youth. Figure of Troy. Death of Hector. (Ridolfi, Mar. ii. 304, and Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, pp. 201—2.)

Ferrara: Canonici Coll. (1632).— 1. Bust of Christ crowned with thorns carrying his cross. 2. Magdalen repentant. 3. Virgin, St. Anna, St. Joseph, the infant Christ, and Baptist both playing with the lamb, all in a landscape. 4. Virgin raising the covering of the infant Christ, before whom a shepherd kneels with a bound lamb. Behind him a shepherd taking off his cap and holding a bagpipe, and close by a peasant with a pair of fowls and two dogs. Seated near the Virgin is St. Joseph, asleep. 5. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, half length, large as life. 6. Titian's portrait by himself. (Campori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, pp. 108, 115—16, 121 and 126.) *Coccapani Collection* (1640).—Virgin and Child, and St. John with the lamb. (Campori, Racc. di Catal., p. 150.) A nude Venus. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 257.) *Cardinal of Ferrara.*—1. Sacrifice of Iphigenia. 2. Sacrifice of Helen. 3. Fountain of Chastity. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 268—9.)

Parma: Farnese Coll. (1680).—1. A man in red, with his head turned to the left, an ink-bottle and a pen are on the table. (Campori, Cataloghi, p. 209.) 2. Lucretia in red with a landscape to the left. (Ib. p. 210.) 3. Portrait of a

female seated with a bust of Charles the Fifth near her. (Ib. 211.) 4. A shepherd in a dress of skins. (Ib. 220.) 5. Portrait of a man full length in armour to the knees, the left hand on a helmet on a pedestal. (Ib. p. 229.) 6. Portrait of a woman at a table on which are a skull, a mirror, a comb and scissors. She is dressing her hair with both hands. Her dress yellow. (Ib. 231.) 7. A woman in black, her right hand with two rings on the fingers lying on her bosom. Auburn hair, antique collar, and girdle of gold buttons. (Ib. 233.) 8. A woman pointing with her right hand at her face, dressed in a black veil which covers her head and part of her shoulders. (Ib. 233.) 9. A man in a black dress and cap, and a collar round his neck with the order of the Golden Fleece, holding a paper in his right hand, which is alone visible. (Ib. 235.) 10. A female in grey with a pearl hanging from a golden braid in her right hand. Her dress and sleeves flowered white; her hair blonde. (Ib. 236.) 11. Portrait of a cardinal in a red cap, a ring on his right hand which rests on the arm of a chair, and in his left a prayer-book, distance landscape. (Ib. p. 25.) This description exactly suits the Cardinal Pallavicini of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Modena: Count Giulio Cesare Gonzaga di Novellara (1676).—St. Peter Martyr. (Camp. Cataloghi, p. 204.)

Bevilaequa Coll.—Virgin and Child, St. Joseph and the boy Baptist and two angels in glory. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 257.)

Milan: Domenico Pelosi.—Virgin and Child adored by St. Thomas Aquinas. (Ticozzi, Vec. 136.)

Rome: Aldobrandini Palace.—1. Two shepherds playing the flute in a landscape. 2. Virgin and Child, St. Jerom, and St. Lawrence. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 257.) *Palazzo Giustiniani.*—The Virgin and Child and young Baptist. (Ib. i. 258.) *Collection of Prince Pio of Savoy* (1742).—1. Virgin and Child. 2. Danae and boy. 3. Nude Venus recumbent. 4. Nude Venus recumbent with a boy and a soldier. 5. Venus nude on a couch, Cupid, a man playing an organ, and a little dog. (Citadella, Notizie relative a Ferrara, *u. s.* p. 566.)

Scanelli notes the Pio collection and its Titians in the Microcosmo, p. 221. *Cardinal Sfondrato* (1595).—1. Christ at the column, half length. 2. A Virgin, Child, and a man carrying fruit (Coradusz to Emperor Rudolph the Second, in L. Urlich's article in Zeitschrift, f. b. Kunst, *u. s.* v. p. 49.) *Savelli Coll.* (1650).—Portrait of Charles the Fifth. (Campori, Cataloghi, p. 165.) *Coll. of Cardinal d'Este* (1624).—1. A landscape with St. Jerom. 2. A St. Jerom on panel. 3. Duke Alfonso the First (copy). (Campori, Racc. di Catal. 63, 71.)

Genoa: Collection of the Doria Family.—Adonis. (Anon. Tizianello, p. 5.)

London: Duke of Somerset (seventeenth century).—Venus, originally in possession of Daniel Nys. (Sainsbury Papers, *u. s.* p. 274.) *Collection of the Earl of Arundel.*—Portrait of Constable de Bourbon. This portrait is only known by Vorstermann's print, showing a man in a rich dress with a jewelled toque on his head, and a helmet on a table before him; the face seen at three quarters to the right, the whole inscribed: "Serenisi. Caroli Ducis Borboniæ . . . Connestabilis vera effigies in presentia Caroli V. Imperatoris depicta a Titiano, quæ latent Londini, &c. . . . Sculpta, Vorstermann." Beneath the portrait: "OMNIS SALVS IN FERRO EST," and on the background, "Obyt. Roma, 1257."

Antwerp: Van Uffel Coll.—1. Death of Pyramus, with Amor breaking his weapons. 2. The Virgin adoring the infant Christ with St. Jerom in cardinals, St. Francis and the archangel Michael. 3. St. Jerom in prayer in a cave. 4. Ecce Homo. 5. Portrait of Aretino. 6. Portrait of a Greek patriarch. 7. A jeweller with a string of pearls. 8. Virgin and Child, St. John and St. Joseph. (Ridolfi, i. 258—9.)

Rubens' Coll.—Psyche with a bottle in her hand. (Sainsbury Papers, *u. s.* p. 236.)

Lisbon (sixteenth century). Christ scourged. (Vas. xiii. 40.)

Portraits.—Tasso's mistress. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 255.) Sinistri. (Vas. xiii. p. 41.) Marquess of Pescara. (Ib. 38.) Niccola

Crasso and Luigi Crasso. (Ridolfi Mar. i. 131, 253.) Andrea Doria and Gastaldo. (Lomazzo, Trattato, p. 636.) Aretino and his daughter. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 228.) Cardinal Gonzaga (Vas. xiii. 81.) Paul Manutius. (Aretino, Lett. i. p. 236.) Don Carlos. (Vas. xiii. 87.) Titian and his confessor. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 120.) Martin the sculptor as a young man. (Ib. 268.) A shaven man with jewels in his hand. (Ib. 268.) Girolamo Miani. (Cicogna, Isc. Ven. v. 375.) Mistress of G. B. Castaldo. (Bottari, Raccolta, v. 59.) Delfini, belonging to the sculptor Danese. (Vas. xiii. 42.) Gio. Francesco di Rubeis, a bishop. (Flaminio Cornaro, in Cicogna, Iscr. Ven. iv. 137.) Marco Mantova Benavides. (Anon. Morelli, p. 152.) Monsignor Bonfio. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 259.) Portrait of Cardinal Ardinghello. (Borghini, Riposo, iii. p. 89.) Julius the Second. (Vas. xiii. 32.) Sixtus the Fourth. (Ib.) Marini q. Francesco Garzoni. (Cicogna, Iscr. Ven. vi. p. 892.) Hannibal the Carthaginian. (Urbino inventory in Gotti's Gall. di Firenze, p. 334.) Giulia Gonzaga. (Campori, Racc. di Cataloghi, p. 148.) Cardinal Accolti. (Vas. xiii. p. 42.) N. Zono. (Ib.) Dame Gattina. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 219.) Francesco Filetto and his son. (Vas. xiii. 42.) Girolamo Fracastoro. (Ib.; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 252, and Brognoli, 210.) Torquato Bembo and his wife. (Ib.)

Titian is reputed to have been jealous alike of his pupils and of his own brother Francesco. Ridolfi indeed says that when Titian saw an altar-piece completed by Francesco Vecelli for a Cadorine church, he trembled for his own fame, and diverted Francesco's activity into a new channel.* But it is hard to reconcile this statement with that of Vincenzo Vecelli, which tells of Titian's affection for the truant

* Ridolfi, i. 285.

who once gave up painting for the profession of arms.* We may believe that if Francesco Vecelli at last preferred the ease of country life at Cadore, it was because he felt and acknowledged his own inferiority. The earliest picture with which his name is connected is that which represents the Virgin and Child, between St. Roch and St. Sebastian in the Genova Chapel at the Pieve di Cadore, a tempera on canvas dubiously assigned by Tizianello's "Anonimo" to Titian and Francesco.† Though injured by repainting in oil, this firstling work is quite in the character of that shown in the gallery of Vienna as one of Titian's juvenile efforts. It bears the impress of a Venetian composition carried out by an independent craftsman who scorns to swear fealty to any one master. It displays a decorous and well calculated arrangement of figures, appropriate action, good proportion and careful outline. Light and shadow are fairly distributed, and drapery accurately studied. Smooth finish and some inequality in the mode of realizing form, testify to the youth of the artist. The Virgin is large and plump, the Child on her lap small and puny, St. Sebastian, to the right, is tall, slender and dry, whilst St. Roch, leaning on his staff and showing the plague-boil, is more developed, and recalls a similar figure in Titian's altar-piece of St. Mark at the Salute.‡ If Francesco Vecelli painted

* See *antea*.

† Tizianello, Anonimo, p. 7.

‡ This picture is not on panel, as Tizianello's Anon. asserts, but on canvas, and the figures, of full length and under life size, are in a landscape. Many parts are daubed over with oil pigment, and the Virgin's mantle is almost black from this cause. The can-

this picture in the earliest years of his career, he began with almost as much promise as Titian himself. In later days it appeared that he was not of the wood of which great painters are made; for when he produced in 1524 the Madonna with saints at San Vito di Cadore, his style had acquired its full expansion, yet showed vastly below that of Titian's. Here again unhappily the canvas is patched at the top, enlarged at the bottom, and retouched in many of the most salient places; but what remains of Francesco's original conception and execution tells as much as any creation can reveal of the stuff in the creator himself. The Virgin sits on a throne in front of a green curtain between four saints, of whom two are bishops—Modestus and Gottardus; the third, to the right, is St. John the Baptist with the lamb at his feet, and the fourth St. Vitus, who recommends the kneeling figure of a priest. The step of the throne is partly covered by a cartello on which we read "F. V. P." [Francesco Vecelli pinxit ?] MDXXIIII. At this date, let us recollect, Titian had finished the "Madonna of San Niccolò de' Frari," and was completing the "Madonna di Casa Pesaro." Francesco must have had before him his brother's portrait of Baffo, so strong is the reminiscence of that masterpiece in the patron of the San Vito altar-piece. But the treatment, though it be Titianesque, is inferior to that of Titian. The grouping is skilful, the action of

vas is now in the choir, to the left of the high altar. It was stolen in 1853, and recovered for 700 fr. at a village near Mestre in the same year.

the personages telling enough, the drawing is bold, and the finish sufficient, but the figures are mere models, thrown off with freedom of hand, but without accuracy of detail or breadth of touch, and without the subtlety or delicacy of Titian in its wide stretches of uniform flesh.*

An earlier altar-piece in the parish church of Sedico on the highroad between Belluno and Feltre—if shown to have been executed by Titian's brother—would prove that Francesco in his first form was simpler and more distrustful of conventional ease than in 1524. The Virgin enthroned with two boys in the foreground playing pipe and tabor, and angels flying with the crown of glory above the Virgin's head;—the dead Christ with a seraph above, St. Sebastian and St. Roch full length, and St. Nicholas and St. Anthony half length at the sides, make up one of those combinations of panels which were still much prized in the Alpine country north of Venice at the opening of the eighteenth century, an altar-piece in which, under a mixture of styles recalling Titian and Palma Vecchio, we apparently discern the true type of Francesco Vecelli's art before he ventured on imitations of his brother's bolder and more impulsive style. Figures of youthful shape and short stature, unctuous pigment uniformly spread, but not without

* This canvas is now at the back of the high altar, having been removed from its original place and sent to the painter Bertani, at Venice, to be "restored" in 1780. The upper curve of the picture and its base, with two angels on the altar step, are modern additions, and much of the rest of the surface is repainted.

sharpness of tint, careful and blended treatment are distinctive features of the picture, which is the work of an artist unable or unwilling to apply the subtle methods of impasting, glazing, and breaking which are so familiar to us in the technical handling of Titian.*

That Francesco Vecelli, in the opening years of the sixteenth century, should have been employed to paint altar-pieces for country churches whilst his abler brother was busy on works of magnitude at Venice, seems natural enough when we consider the relative value of their productions. It may indeed be presumed that Titian and Francesco at this time lived together, dividing the town and country practice between them. But Francesco was not left without commissions even in Venice, though we may think he received them chiefly after 1524. He painted a fresco of the Resurrection in the well of the staircase leading from the Ducal Palace into the cathedral of St. Mark, from which much of the colour has now disappeared, but in which the outlines and action of the Redeemer and guards are sufficient evidence of the painter's resolution in drawing the human form on a large and muscular scale.† He then produced the "Annunciation" for San Niccolò di Bari now in the Venice Academy, which displays novelty and elevation of feeling, especially in the action of the angel pointing to heaven and in the face and expression of the Virgin.‡

* The side panels are all disfigured by vertical splits, but they are clean splits, which do not affect the painting materially.

† Boschini, R. Min. S. di S. Marco, p. 54.

‡ No. 523 at the Venice Academy; canvas, m. 2.37 h. by 1.85. Boschini (Min. S. di Castello, p. 11) describes this picture,

In 1528 he completed for the Scuola de' Zoppi a processional standard on which there were two figures of cripples symbolizing the duties of the brotherhood, and an angel and Virgin annunciate. He also delivered at some uncertain date a church standard for San Staé at Venice and a similar work for the brotherhood of the Bombardieri, with a Virgin of Mercy on one of its sides.* But the most important labours with which he was connected about this time were the frescos decorating the cloisters and sacristy of San Salvatore of Venice, and the pictures of "St. Theodore" and "St. Augustin," with the "Resurrection" and "Transfiguration" on the shutters of the organ set up in 1530 above the lateral portal, of which Sansovino was the architect.† Boschini in attempting to gauge the comparative merits of the Vecelli, says that the work of Francesco at San Salvatore was so fine that it might have been confounded with that of Titian;‡ and there is no doubt that he showed more power, more freedom of handling, and greater spirit in these than in any other works of his that are now extant. But there is no denying at the same time that his creations lack distinction, whilst his figures are marked by strained action and overweight of muscle; and it is very probable that the

which is now greatly injured by repainting. The Virgin kneels at a desk and looks up at the angel flying down. Above the alcove to the right two boy angels are flying. To the left is a landscape. Engraved in line in Zanotto's Pinac. Veneta.

* Boschini, Ricche Miniere, S. di S. Marco, pp. 94, 95. Ridolfi, Mar. i. 281.

† Boschini, R. M. S. di. S. Marco, p. 105; Ridolfi, Mar. i. 284; and the Guides of Selvatico and Zanotto.

‡ Boschini, Miniere, Preface.

qualities which Boschini detected in these pieces were such as Francesco could only display when in company or in partnership with his abler and more gifted brother.* He certainly never improved after he left Venice for Cadore; and of all the pictures attributable to him in Cadorine or Bellunese churches, none equal in power those of San Salvatore; as the list which follows will sufficiently show.

Fonzaso near Belluno: Casa Ponte.—"The Nativity;" canvas, with figures under life size. The infant Christ lies on a cushion in the middle of the foreground, adored by the Virgin (right), St. Joseph (in rear), and two shepherds (left). In a hut to the right are the ox and the ass; and in the sky above a landscape. Three angels sing "Gloria in excelsis." Very little of the original surface in this canvas remains free from repaints. Ticozzi assigns it to Titian (Vec. pp. 73—5), but Count Florio Miari, in the Dizionario Bellunese (4to, Belluno, 1843, p. 143), affirms that it is by Francesco, and in this he receives confirmation from records discovered by Doglioni. (Compare Lanzi, Roscoe's translation, Bohn's ed. 1847, ii. 167.) The picture was originally painted for San Giuseppe of Belluno, a church suppressed in 1806. (Miari, *u. s.*) It is a Titianesque creation, which is

* The best of these four canvases is that of St. Theodore, who stands in armour, lance in hand, before the prostrate dragon, in front of a temple; an angel of Titianesque type, but heavier in shape and more rotund than Titian's, flying in the air and carrying a palm leaf. The opposite canvas represents St. Augustin reading from a book held up to him by a priest, in front of two kneeling canons. Here again we see Titian's feeling in the execution, but the canvas is heavily repainted. Worse preserved, and more seriously damaged by re-touching, are the "Transfiguration" and "Resurrection," where, however, the weight and unwieldiness of the figures are more striking than ever. So far as one can judge of colour dimmed by time, varnish, and superposed pigment, it was deep, but rather sharp than glowing. The shadows particularly are very dark.

all that can now be said of it. A small copy called an original sketch, as much repainted as the altar-piece itself, is shown in the Casa Pagani at Belluno.

Berlin Museum, No. 173.—Arched panel with figures of life size (8 ft. 9 h., by 4 ft. 9 ½), representing the Virgin and Child enthroned in a church, attended by St. Peter and St. Jerom, and two angels on the foot of the throne playing the viol and tambourine. This picture was once in Santa Croce of Belluno (Doglioni, Notizie di Belluno, 8vo, Belluno, 1816, p. 36; Miari, *u. s.* 141, and Cadorin, Dello Amore, p. 61), and was bought by Mr. Solly. It is remarkable for the short stature of the figures, and their coarseness of type. The execution is Titianesque, but not of a high class, and it is probable that Francesco was assisted in his labours by a Bellunese artist, such as Francesco degli Stefani. The altar-piece is injured by restoring, and this is particularly the case with regard to the figure of St. Peter. The colour of the flesh tint is uniform and flushed with red. The drawing and chiaroscuro are alike defective. The church of Santa Croce was suppressed in 1806, and subsequently demolished.

Venice Academy, No. 416.—"Rest during the Flight into Egypt;" canvas, m. 1.06 h. by 1.51. The Virgin Mary sits with the infant Christ on her lap in a hilly landscape; near her, likewise seated, is St. John the Baptist, and in the distance St. Joseph with the ass. If this be a genuine canvas by Francesco, of which one can hardly give a decided opinion on account of repainting, it is beneath his usual level.

Oriago Church.—Canvas, originally arched, now enlarged to a rectangle. Christ as a gardener appears to the Magdalen. An angel leans on the side of the sepulchre, out of which another angel is leaping. The best part of the picture, and that most like Francesco, is the kneeling Magdalen in profile. The Saviour to the left is long, lean, and false in action. The angels are heavy and grotesque. The whole piece makes the impression of a work of the close of the 16th century, but this may be due to the spotty and daubed condition of the surface. (Ridolfi, Mar. i. 285.)

Modena Gallery, No. 133.—Half-length on canvas of a

bearded man in a brown cap and black pelisse with a fur collar. His left hand on a parapet in front grasps a glove. This picture was doubtless a fine one before it was injured by repainting. It is quite in the feeling of Titian's school, and may well be by the artist to whom it is assigned. It may be that this is the portrait described by Ticozzi (Vecelli, p. 262) as a portrait of "a Duke of Urbino" once in possession of the Marquis Antaldi at Pesaro. (Size, m. 6.80 h. by 0.67.)

Dresden Museum, No. 239.—"Pilate presents Christ to the people;" canvas, 3 ft. h. by 2 ft. 0½. Christ with his arms bound is seen to the hips in front of Pilate, who stands in a red cap and dress to the right, whilst the gaoler to the left raises the Saviour's dress and gives him a reed. This picture, of the 17th century, is similar to one at Hampton Court, copied, with the exception of one figure in the right-hand foreground, from a canvas of Titian at Madrid.

Venice: SS. Ermagora e Fortunato.—Christ with the orb, on a pedestal between St. Andrew and St. Catherine. This panel, ascribed to Titian (see *antea*), may be a work of Francesco Vecelli's youth. But it also recalls the manner of Santo Zago.

Vicenza Gallery.—"Virgin and Child;" half-length of life size. This panel, ascribed to Titian, is executed with decisive but neglectful ease, and produces the impression of an early work by Francesco Vecelli.

Titian, towards the close of a long and glorious life, disposed of almost all he possessed in favour of Orazio Vecelli, his second and favourite son. But Orazio survived his father's death by a few months only, and died in 1576 at the plague lazaretto in Venice without distinguishing himself as an independent artist.* We saw how constantly he served as Titian's assistant. When he painted pictures which passed

* See *antea*, and Cadorin, Dello Amore, 55.

into circulation as his own he no doubt had advice and help from his father in producing them. In every case it was Titian who gave life and breath to the clay kneaded by his son. It was commonly asserted in 1566 that the "Battle of Castel Sant' Angelo" composed for the Hall of Council in competition with Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese by Orazio, "was done with the assistance of Titian."* Numerous works of less compass were probably ushered into the world under similar conditions; and it is a melancholy confession to make—we fail to distinguish the work of Orazio from that of the school generally, and can only suggest that where the style of Titian is not strongly impressed on pictures of a Titianesque character, we have to presume the co-operation of Orazio, though we cannot affirm that he was not assisted or even superseded on occasion by Girolamo di Titiano, Cesare or Marco Vecelli.

The only pictures in existence, the authorship of which is undoubtedly assignable to Orazio Vecelli, are the shutters of the altar in San Biagio of Calalzo near Cadore, a set of canvases painted on both sides with figures of Sts. Peter, Paul, Vitus, and Anthony the abbot, backed by the four subjects of the Annunciation, Circumcision, Nativity, and Epiphany. None of these pieces are free from extensive abrasions and overpainting, but such as they are, they show a regular but formal and lifeless style of composition, whilst they display defective modelling, inequality of balance in light and shade, and absence of transitions. It is curious to observe that in spite of these drawbacks the pictures have a

* Vasari, xi. 322–3. Lorenzi, p. 326. The picture perished in the fire of 1577.

Titianesque air; but this only proves that Orazio, who must have been familiar with every turn of Titian's thought and every trick of his brush, was in practice unable to use any of his advantages. In the "Annunciation" we see Mary turned to the right and kneeling at a desk, but twisting round to look up at the angel flying down from the clouds to the left. Behind this subject is a fine St. Peter. The "Circumcision" is a composition of six figures, with the Virgin to the right, Simeon to the left, St. Joseph in rear, between both; the infant, a coarse and heavy nude. St. Anthony is at the back of the canvas. Similar heaviness of shape is apparent in the "Epiphany," where the king kneels to the right and the Virgin sits to the left with the infant on her knee, and in the "Nativity," where the child lies on the foreground to the left. Behind the "Epiphany" is St. Vitus. Most of the drapery in all the canvases is repainted. Orazio's receipt for payment is dated February 4, 1566.*

As a portrait painter at Rome, Orazio was praised by Vasari.† A specimen of his art in this branch is to be found in an altar-piece representing the Virgin adoring the child on her knees, in the church of Sorisole near Bergamo. At the sides of this picture there are half-length portraits of the Doge Lorenzo Priuli and his wife Zilia Dandola, the Doge Girolamo Priuli, and an unknown member of the Priuli family whose initials are "Pz. P." carrying a compass and square in his hand. Girolamo Priuli succeeded his brother Lorenzo as Doge in 1559, and died in 1567; and one of the portraits must for that reason have been executed after 1559; yet on a tablet above the Madonna we read the words: "OP. OR. V. 1556."‡ It may be that the portraits were taken at different periods. In any case the canvas is a school piece with every evidence of being by a disciple in Titian's workshop—a disciple who lacks neither skill nor individuality, but who certainly has neither the spirit nor the power of Titian himself.

At Vienna, we find a portrait assigned to Orazio represen-

* Jacobi MS.

† Vasari, xiii. 36.

‡ It may be that this inscription is more modern than the picture.

ting a bearded man in a black cap and pelisse, with the thumb of his left hand in his belt, and his right on a paper lying on a table. On the brown background we read: "1538 NATVS ANNOS 35." It is sufficient to recall the fact that Orazio Vecelli was a schoolboy in 1534,* and could not paint a picture four years later which displays mature if not extraordinary power. The Virgin adoring the infant Christ, whose foot the boy Baptist kisses, whilst an angel supports it on Mary's lap, is a picture attributed to Orazio at Alnwick. The original of this composition in the Borghese Palace at Rome is apparently by some transalpine student of late Venetian art.

Conte Vecelli, grandfather of Titian, had a brother named Antonio, whose son Ettore was the father of Cesare Vecelli, the painter. Cesare Vecelli was a native of Cadore.† According to the death register of San Moisé, at Venice, he died on the 2nd of March, 1601, at the age of eighty,‡ and we infer from this that he was twenty-seven years old when he attended Titian at Augsburg, in 1548. The baptismal register of San Moisé contains the names of Cesare's children, born in 1579 and 1590, Titian-Fabrizio and Cecilia, by Laura Moro, niece of Piero Moro, "scudiere" or "donzello" (esquire) of the Doge Alvise Mocenigo. A letter from Piero Moro, addressed to "his nephew" at Cadore, on the 3rd of October, 1570, shows that Cesare lived habitually in his uncle's house at Venice.§

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* See Titian to Vendramo, in Ticozzi, Vecelli, *u. s.*, p. 308.

† Piero Moro to Cesare Vecelli, from Venice, Oct. 3, 1570, in MS. Jacobi of Cadore.

‡ Cicogna, Isc. Ven. vi. 887.

§ Ib., and registry of San Moisé, in a letter from Abate Cadorin to Dr. T. Jacobi, in MS. Jacobi at Cadore.

The earliest record of Cesare Vecelli's practice is a ducal privilege giving him the monopoly of the issue of a print of the "Adoration of the name of Jesus," on the 28th of October, 1575.* The next is an authentic proof of his activity as a monumental draughtsman, in a series of paintings in the parish church of Lentiai, between Belluno and Feltre, where a panelled ceiling is covered with twenty episodes of the life of the Virgin certified in one place (the Presentation in the Temple) with the name "CÆSAR VECELIVS," and in another with the following inscription: "CÆSAR VECELL, PINXIT ET IA^{co} CONSTANTINI IVVENIS D. C. 1578." Cesare also covered the ribbings of the panelling with gospel subjects in monochrome, —all of which is in part abraded, in part injured by time, neglect, and retouching. The most notable features in these compositions is a general appropriateness of distribution of groups, and of figures, and good perspective lines. The human form is always cast in a large, muscular, and fleshy mould which produces an exaggerated impression of weight and herculean strength. The handling is rapid and bold, the pigment copious, the flesh tint deep in tone and relieved with dark shadow reminiscent of Schiavone and Tintoretto rather than of Titian. Cesare was clearly a man of great skill who stood in the same relation to Titian as Giulio Romano stood to Raphael. He was an enterprising yet on the whole a shallow disciple of a great master. In an earlier form than that which distinguishes the ceiling pieces of the church of Lentiai, Cesare, in conjunction perhaps with other artists of the following of Titian, probably helped to execute one or two of the works of art which decorate the church in question, and principally the pictures of the high altar, still assigned to Titian, which hang in one frame on the walls of the choir. Here we have the Assumption of the Virgin on lines similar to those of Titian's great composition in the cathedral of Verona, a Christ in the tomb supported by two angels, reminiscent of the same subject in the church of Sedico, and figures in full and half length of several saints, amongst which

* In full in MS. Jacobi of Cadore.

we note, in the first class, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John Evangelist, and a bishop, in the second, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Mary Magdalen, and a female with the palm and crown of martyrdom. The date of the transfer of these pieces to their present position is given in an inscription on a framing of the period: "AD. MDCCLXXXXIV." The canvases are all so rotten as to threaten the very existence of the pigment upon them. But enough is visible to show that the treatment is Titianesque, though made up of various elements suggesting recollections of Francesco, Marco, and Cesare Vecelli. In almost all the figures we shall notice energetic character, bold movement, and varied expression, combined with shape of a large and fleshy kind;—work telling of Titian's intervention in the execution, if not directly, at any rate indirectly by means of assistants, at whose head Cesare Vecelli may have been. Another large canvas in the same edifice, "Christ supported in death by the Marys," bears the initials of Cesare C. V. P. with the addition: "REFECIATO SOTTO IL S^R ANDREA CRISTINI." Though in a very bad state it leads to a natural inquiry whether Cesare was not at some period of his life under the influence of the school of Parmegianino, to which Schiavone at one time was so partial. Judging from these productions as the result of a series of visits of Cesare Vecelli to Lentiai between 1552 and 1578, we become very fairly acquainted with his style; and venture to assign to him several pictures, of which it will be sufficient to give the locality, the subject, and the probable dates.

Candide in Cadore.—The parish church of this village boasts of an altar-piece assigned to Titian, representing the Virgin enthroned with the infant Christ in benediction on her knee. A yellow damask curtain behind the throne intercepts the sky and a landscape of hills. On the marble floor at the Virgin's feet an angel plays the tambourine. On side canvases are the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Andrew, both about a quarter of the size of life, and in a very bad state of preservation. Though it has become dark from restoring and old varnish (the sky, the curtain, the Virgin's

mantle and the tambourine being daubed with new paint) the Madonna of Candide gives a fair idea of what Cesare Vecelli's art may have been in its first development. It combines the weight of Pordenone with Titianesque contours, but displays coarse types and a certain crude depth of colour which points to an artist who strove to imitate Titian's tone without applying Titian's subtle method of producing it. It appears from the papers of the notary Bartolo Gera Doriga at Candide that the picture was purchased at Conegliano in 1649 for 435 ducats from "Signor Zuane Pigatto, a carver."

Verona Museum, No. 450.—An illustration of the form observed in the altar-piece of Candide may be found in a picture in this museum, of the Virgin adoring the infant Christ on her knees, whilst the boy Baptist leads his lamb to her presence. The scene here is laid in a rich landscape of wood and hills. This graceful piece, with figures half the size of life, was attributed to Titian by Dr. Bernasconi, who bequeathed it to the gallery of Verona. But it is at best a fair example of Cesare, a low toned and somewhat crudely coloured canvas in fair preservation. (Photograph by Naya.)

Padua Maldura Coll.—The Virgin, half length, holds the infant Christ recumbent on her lap. A green curtain behind her conceals in part the distance of sky and landscape. This canvas is attributed to Titian, and though repainted in several places, still shows a certain richness of tone. But the puffy outline and uniform flesh tint point to Cesare Vecelli, and the drapery is quite too conventional for any but a pupil of Titian.

Vienna Gallery.—The "Epiphany"; panel, 1 ft. 10 h. by 1 ft. 6, under Titian's name. The Virgin Mary sits to the right under the shade of a penthouse attended by St. Joseph. The infant Christ on her knee gives the blessing to one of the kings prostrate before him. To the left are the two companion kings with their suite on the foreground of an Alpine landscape enlivened by a calvacade of knights. The realism which characterises this piece is akin to that of Titian's old age, or to that of Paolo Veronese or the Bassanos. The treatment is rapid and effective, the colours being laid on with

deep toned unctuous pigments, and effect being given at last by strongly picked out lights. (Engraved in Teniers' Gallery work.) Dr. Waagen, it may be observed (Vornehmste Kunstdenkmäler in Wien, p. 211) follows Krafft (Hist. Kritisch. Catalog) in thinking that this panel is a copy from "Titian's altar-piece at Belluno." But it is probably the original sketch by Cesare for the altar-piece of Belluno.

Belluno: S. Stefano.—Arched canvas with figures of life size; the subject is an exact counterpart of that in the sketch at Vienna. The landscape is a view of the Alps as seen from the military hospital or Casa dei Gesuiti at Belluno, and the arms of the families of Piloni and Persicini are on scutcheons at the corners of the foreground. The picture is disfigured by extensive repaints, but amidst the patches of daubing some fragments of the original painting are apparent which point to the technical handling of Cesare Vecelli. Nor is there any reason why he should not have painted the picture, which Giorgio Piloni (Hist. di Belluno, 4to, Venice, 1607, p. 164) and Ticozzi (Vecelli, p. 98) assign to Titian, since he says himself in his work on costume that he was well acquainted with the family of the Piloni, with whom he lived for some years, having written his book at Casteldardo, their country seat near Belluno. Is it necessary to recapitulate the features of Cesare's style which are apparent here?—the large fleshy forms, the brown-tinged flesh tints, and dark abrupt shadows, the defective modelling and absence of transitions. A small copy of the altarpiece is called a "Sketch by Titian" in the Casa Pagani at Belluno; together with this is a copy of the "Pietà" on the altar-piece of Lentiai.

Casteldardo: Villa of the Piloni family near Belluno.—Portrait of an old man with a grey beard in a dark dress with a white frill, seated near a window, inscribed in the right hand corner "ODORICIVS PILONVS I. V. [juris utriusque] ASCESSOR ET ANTIQVARIVS." This fine portrait is executed with great freedom in the style of Tintoretto or of Titian in his old age. It represents Oderico at about 70 years of age, and as he was born in 1503, its date would be 1573. (Genealogical tree of the Piloni, and registers of the cathedral of

Belluno, examined for the authors by Professor D. Francesco Pellegrini of Belluno.) The flesh tints are of a low brownish tinge, but spare in pigment, defective in modelling, in fact, in the style of Cesare Vecelli. The hand is injured by scaling; and part of the canvas was folded back on a new framing so as to conceal some of the letters of the inscription. A counterpart of this portrait will be found catalogued as a likeness of Bramante by Titian in the Northwick collection. But in the Northwick example, which is also by Cesare, Oderico is not so old as at Casteldardo. In this villa again two fragments of fresco are presented, heads of boys aged six and eight respectively. They are portraits, probably by Cesare, of Cesar and Scipio Piloni, of which there are likenesses in oil in the Casa Agosti, and Casa Pagani at Belluno.

Belluno: Casa Pagani.—Portrait of a boy on panel, three quarters to the left, bust, inscribed ANTONIVS AN. XIIII. D°. of a boy on canvas three quarters to the right: "IOAN^ES MARIA. AN. X." D°. of a boy full face: "SCIPIO. AN. VIII." (From the tree of the Piloni family and notices of Professor Pellegrini, *u. s.*) These busts must all have been done for Oderico Piloni, the children's father, in 1552. They are injured here and there by abrasion, but painted carefully and minutely in a warm rosy flesh tone, but not without meaningless uniformity. Though assigned to Titian, they are far beneath his powers, especially at the period above indicated. In the same style two other portraits of the series are in—

Belluno: Casa Agosti.—Bust on canvas, full face, inscribed "PAVLVS AN. IIII." and Cesare in profile: "CÆSAR. AN. VI." The probable author of these works is Cesare Vecelli, who is likewise to be considered the painter of a fresco of the Rape of the Sabine Women, of which a fragment is preserved—a head of a female of life size, three quarters to the right, looking up—in Casa Piloni at Belluno. We may add to the list of Cesare's works the following:

Cedola, near Belluno: Parish Church.—The Virgin and Child enthroned between St. John Evangelist and St. Jerom, with two boy angels on the step of the throne, inscribed: "CÆSAR

VECELIVS F. 1581." Canvas with figures of life size.—Two angels in prayer are flying at the sides of the throne.

Tai: S. Candido.—Virgin and child enthroned between St. Candidus and St. Oswald; an angel playing an instrument at the foot of the throne; inscribed: "CÆS. VEC. F."—Figure of St. Apollonia inscribed: "S. POLONIA. ORA. PRO. NO. 1582 C. V. F." St. Maurice inscribed: "S. MAVRITIO ORA PRO NO. CÆS. V. F."

But even such curt notices as these would take up too much space, and it will be enough to mark as work of Cesare the following: *Vinigo.*—Virgin and Child between St. Anthony and St. Margaret. *Castions Church.*—The Assumption, inscribed on the canvas folded beneath a new framing with the date of 1585. *Belluno: S. Rocco.*—The same subject as at Castions, in the same form. *Castel Colalto.*—Fragment of portraits in fresco, from the canonry of Castions. (See *antea*, p. 435.) *Belluno Cathedral.*—The Virgin in Glory, with the Podestà Giovanni Loredano kneeling on the foreground before St. Sebastian, St. Gregory the Great, and another saint—an altar-piece proved by local records to have been executed in 1584. *Belluno: San Stefano.*—Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek. *Ceneda Cathedral.*—Virgin and Child enthroned between St. Roch and St. Sebastian, with a kneeling patron in front to the right, who is supposed to be one of the Sarcinelli related by marriage to Titian. *Cadore: Pieve.*—Organ shutters with the Annunciation, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The "Last Supper" of 1585, 14 ft. 6 h. by 14 br., on the lines of Titian's "Cena" at the Escorial. The Virgin and Child with St. Mark, and allegorical figures, emblematic of Venice and Cadore, 1599. *Padola Church.*—Pope Sylvester.

In 1579, Cesare Vecelli christened his second son Titiano Fabrizio, after his teacher Titian and his brother Fabrizio. Fabrizio was a painter whose death, as proved by notarial records (MS. Jacobi of Cadore), occurred in Venice in 1576. He left but one picture behind, which shows the degeneracy of his race. It represents allegorically Justice, Mercy, and

Virtue, and was painted in 1542 for the Comune of Cadore, where it still remains. There is hardly a reminiscence of the Titianesque in this feeble work, the style of which we trace in pictures scattered about in Cadorine churches, *i. e.*, the Eternal, St. Lucy, and St. Apollonia, in San Rocco of Perarolo, the Assunta, a single figure of the Virgin, in a choir of cherubs in Sant' Orsola of Vigo.

The best artist of the name of Vecelli, after Cesare, is Marco, the son of Titian's cousin and bosom friend, Toma Tito Vecelli. Marco is said to have been born in 1545, and to have died in 1611.* He was assistant to Titian in his old age, and acquired the style of his master at that period, which he varied with imitation of Orazio Vecelli. His works after Titian's death are so numerous that a fair description of them would require considerable space. But of this they are certainly unworthy. The earliest composition certified by his name, and accompanied by a date, is the "Virgin in Glory" with St. Anthony, attended by St. Lucy and St. Agatha, in the Chiesa di Cristo at Pieve di Cadore, ordered in 1584, and paid with 31 lire. (MS. Jacobi.) The latest is the "Martyrdom of St. Catherine" of 1608 in the choir of the church of Pieve. But the best is the votive "Madonna" of the Doge Leonardo Donato (1606—11), in the Sala della Bussola in the public palace at Venice, and the "Charity of St. John the Almsgiver," with a portrait of Doge Donato, in San Giovanni Elemosinario at Venice. It may suffice, to characterise Marco's style, to say that it has some of the elements peculiar to Andrea Schiavone and Palma Giovine, though it is inferior to both.

The last descendants of the Vecelli family who cultivated art are Tizianello, the son of Marco, whose edition of Titian's life by an anonymous writer has been often quoted in these pages, and Tommaso, who was Tizianello's cousin, having been the

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* Ridolfi, Mar. ii. 342; Ticozzi, Vecelli, 289–96.

son of Marco's brother Graziano. The contributions of both these painters to the art of their country are too uninteresting to be noticed. It is only necessary to say that Tizianello was sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the Inquisition in 1635, and was still living when Ridolfi wrote his Maraviglie in 1646.*

Tommaso Vecelli was born at Pieve di Cadore on the 14th of December, 1587. One of his pictures in the Pieve of Lozzo in Cadore, a "Last Supper," is inscribed with his name and dated 1619.

* See Cicogna, Isc. Ven. vi. 951; and Ridolfi, Marav. ii. 343.

APPENDIX.

[*Unpublished.*] 1537, 3 Settembre.

BENEDETTO AGNELLO AL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA.

M. Ticiano m' ha detto che fra otto dì alla più lunga mi dara tre quadri de imperatori da mandare a V. E. et che andarà drieto finendo gli altri, quali promette di dare molto presto.

VENETIA, 3 Settembre, 1537.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1537, 9 Settembre.

BENEDETTO AGNELLO AL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA.

Ho visto li tre quadri de imperatori che fa M. Ticiano, li quali sono molto belli et in termine che penso poterli mandare a V. E. fra sei over otto dì.

VENETIA, alli 9 Settembre, 1537.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 13 Agosto.

IL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA A BENEDETTO AGNELLO.

Vi diciamo che dobbiati far intendere a Titiano per parte nostra che noi siamo per partirsi per Casale al principio di Settembre, et sel potesse venire inanti la partita nostra con li quadri delli Imperatori, mi saria di grandissima soddisfazione, e lo vederessimo volontieri quand 'anco non gli havessi comodità, forse perche li quadri non fossero forniti al tempo detto, di venirci, che almeno usi ogni sollecitudine accio che alla tornata nostra tutti siano forniti.

MANTUE, alli 13 Agosto, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 23 Agosto.

BENEDETTO AGNELLO AL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA.

Ho detto a M. Ticiano quanto la E. V. m' ha fatto scrivere de li Imperatori; egli dice che non attenderà ad altro et che saranno finiti al ritorno di V. E. di Casale.

Perche altre volte V. E. cercava di havere un ritratto del signor Turco, ho voluto dirli che M. Ticiano hora n' ha fatto uno cavato se non me inganno da una medaglia et da un altro ritratto, qual si dice di molti che sono stati a Costantinopoli esser tanto simile al naturale, che pare il medesimo Turco vivo, però volendone V. E. uno la me ne fara dar aviso che M. Ticiano ha detto che lo fara subito.

VENETIA, 23 Agosto, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 27 Agosto.

IL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA A BENEDETTO AGNELLO.

Non mancate di sollicitar presso a Tiziano li nostri quadri, et di più pregatilo per parte nostra a farne un retratto del Turco, come il se vi ha offerto di fare, che l' haveremo gratissimo.

MANTUE, 27 Augusti, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 3 Settembre.

BENEDETTO AGNELLO AL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA.

Ho fatto intendere a M. Ticiano quanto la E. V. m' ha fatta scrivere delli Imperatori e del ritratto del Turco; egli dice che non mancarà, ma chè volendo V. E. esser ben servita bisogna che la faccia a quello da la pensione che non gli dia molestia, perchè ogni di lo fastidisce con lettere domandandogli denari, et che per non haver modo de pagarlo, tanto è il fastidio che ne ha che non puo operar cosa che li stii bene.

VENETIA, 3 Settembre, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 18 Settembre.

BENEDETTO AGNELLO AL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA.

M. Ticiano ha in bonissimo essere il ritratto del Turco, et da speranza de finir anche presto li quadri di Imperatori, ma dubito che la

cosa andrà più in longo di quel che egli dice ; la causa è che il signor Duca d'Urbino lo mena seco a Pesaro, ove S. E., dice di voler andar questa settimana ad ogni modo.

VENETIA, 18 Settembre, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1538, 20 Settembre.

IL DUCA FEDERICO GONZAGA A BENEDETTO AGNELLO.

Ni seria grato d' aver presto il ritratto del Turco che fa Tiziano, e però sollicitatelo, ne dispiace ben che ne sia interotta l'opera delli nostri imperatori e però parendovi sollecitarli presso al predetto Tiziano inanti si parti.

MANTUE, 20 Ottobre, 1538.

(Copied by Canon Braghirolli in the Archives of Mantua.)

[*Unpublished.*] 5th June, 1542.

Adì 5 Zugno 1542, VENEZIA.

Io Titian Vecellio ho riceputo da la magnificenzia di Ms. Domenego Justinian p̄ nome d̄. S. Comunità Ducati diese a lire sei e soldi quattro p̄ ducato p̄ capara di far una palla p̄ la gesia nova d̄ Serravalle.

(Copied from the original in the Archives of Serravalle.)

[*Unpublished.*] 23rd Oct. 1542.

TITIANO AL PODESTA DI SERRAVALLE.

MAG^co^ ET CL^mo^ SIG^r^,—Jo disidero sum̃amente servire vr̄a Mag^tia^ et questa Sp^a^ Comunità circha la pala gli impromessi e al presente in buon termine del modello, se quello non mancherà de [illegible] conoscerette co' l' effetto l' affetione et amore gli porto, et essendo el spatio di d^a^ pala troppo grande, jo gli voria far un fornimento attorno di mezzo piè p̄ bāda come e quì di sotto. V^ra^ Sig^a^ adonq. mi rescriverà el suo parere.

Di VENEZIA, alli XXIII Ottubrio, MDXLII.

Di V. S. TITIANO.

[On the back of the sheet is a drawing of the area of the altar-piece.]

(Copied from the original in the Archives of Serravalle.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1542, Venice.

M° Titiano Vecelli pictore in Venezia ḋ havere per la pictura d' una Pala da esser da lui fatta come consta p̄ uno scritto sopra cio fabricato Duc. dosento cinquanta da essergli dati in li ter^ai infrasti . . . [illegible] duc. 50, et finita l'opera duc. 50, et il resto l. 200 al anno ale feste de la S^a Pasqua ḋ la Resurezione come in ditto scritto se contiene. Val. l. 1550.

M° Tizian Vecelli Pictore effa D.D. adì 13 9^bre, 1542 per conto in la Ostaria di L. Zuan Batta Franzaso . . . duc. cinquanta Val. l. 310.

(Copied from the original in the Archives of Serravalle.) See 1548.

[*Unpublished.*] 1544–75, Castel Roganzuolo.

[The following Memoranda were made for Dr. Taddeo Jacobi, of Cadore, by Gio. Antonio Nicolai, curate of Domegge, after an examination of the parish registers of Castel Roganzuolo. But it is necessary to state that Beltrame (Tiziano Vecellio, *u. s.*, pp. 48 & 66) disputes the correctness of the earliest of these dates, and states that the contract is of 1549, and the price 100, and not 200 ducats.

1544. Titian contracts to paint an altar-piece in three parts for 200 ducats, and finished it in September of the same year, without asking for any earnest of payment. [The contract gives no instructions as to subject, as might be inferred from Ciani, Storia del Popolo Cadorino, ii. 324].

1546. A deed was signed by which the Fabbriceria admits its indebtedness, and binds itself to liquidate in eight successive years, by delivering annually 5 measures (stara) of wheat at the price of Lire 8 per staro, and 16 measures (conzuoli) of wine at the rate of Lire 55 per measure. The Fabbriceria also undertakes to carry stones "of Fregona," for the building of the Casino planned by Titian in Col di Manza, and furnish manual labour at the rate of 4 soldi per man per diem. The account closed at the expiration of the time, leaving the Fabbriceria still in debt to the amount of 26 lire, which were paid in cash. The following entries are from the books of the Fabbriceria :—]

Page 59. "Noto fazo io Celso S. Fiore como in questo giorno che sono adì 13 Marzo, 1555. Mg. Tician Vicelio a fatto saldo co' il Zurado de Castel, Zandomenego barazuol, Donà barazuol, Piero Tomasela mariga, et altri homini de la villa li quali li restano debitori p̄ conto ḋ la palla lire dosento e trenta una. Val. . . . . L. 231

Io Celso soprascritto f. nome ḋ Ms. Ticiano fece il soprascritto saldo prete.

Page 60 contains all the items of the carriage of 2000 of bricks, 1000 slabs (tavole), and a cartload of "*coluna*" (?), all for Lire 46. Further,

in March, 1557, 333 *copi* (!) for Lire 10, and Lire 15 for the carriage of the same to Col di Manza.

Page 188. Contract of Orazio Vecellio with the men of Castel Roganzuolo for a gonfalone, to comprise one figure on each side, namely, St. Peter and St. Paul. Payments were to be made by the signers of the contract and the priest (piovano); 20 ducats were paid in advance, and are acknowledged by Orazio. The contract is dated August 10, 1575. No other notice of this gonfalone, or its existence, was obtainable at Roganzuolo.

Titian, in an income-tax return of 1566, notes the possession of ten fields and a cottage at Col de Manza. (See Cadorin, Dello Amore, *u. s.*, p. 91.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1544, Venice.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° N° 1318, fo. 42.]

S. C. M^TA —

Al Sõr Don Diego di Mendoza ho consignato li dui ritrati della Ser^ma Imperatrice, ne i qualli ho fatto tutta la diligentia che mi e statta possibile. Haveria voluto portarle jo stesso se la longheza dil viaggio et l' età mia mel concedessen; prego a V. Ma^ta mi mandi a dir li falli et manchamenti, rimandandomeli in dietro accio chi li emendi; et non consenta V. Ma^ta ch' un altro metta la man in essi. Nell resto mi riporto a quello che dira il S^or Don diego circa le cose mie, et basciando inchinevolmenti li piedi et man della Ma^ta V. nella bu[e]ona gratia di essa humilmente mi racco^do.

Da VENETIA, alli 5 di Ottob. đ 1545.*

Humillissimo et pp̃tuo servo della Ma^ta V^ra.

TITIANO.

Sobre. Alla S. C. Ma^ta del Imperador mio Señor.

Altar-piece of Serravalle.

[*Unpublished.*] 1548—1553 [see 1542].

"Di ult° Genaro, 1548. M° Francesco Vecellio f^o (fratello) del soprascritto M° Ticiano Pic^to da M. Antonio Panzetta Sindico per conto, ut supra a la presentia del Mag^co Do. Polo P^ña Duc. 30 v[ale].

L[ire] 186

Como appar nel ricever sul scritto.

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* This date should be 1544; and 1545 is probably an error of the copyist.

Adì 9 Marzo, 1548. Ricevete M. Francesco soprascritto del Mag^co M. Niccolò Baldiù, li quali haveva contato la Ecc. nob. Domico Giustiniano a conto ut supra Lire cento venti quatro, cioè appar in una trà de man di detto M. Francesco et sottoscritto dal Mag^o posta . Lire 124

Il d. d. per resto de più havuto da Antonio de Marchi, como lui disse, et appar alla partita del detto Antonio a c[arta] 47 lire diese . Lire 10

Il d. d. de 24 April, del 50 per con. dal S^r Domenego Justinian D^o et Sindico appar da suo ricever sottoscritto de nome de D^a Francesco suo fratello in filza, et alla partida di D. M. Domenego in questo a C. 63 . . . . . Lire 372

Il d. d. del 16 Zugno, 1552, per cons. da M. Antonio da Venezia Sindico, quali havere M. Celso da Sanfior suo nepote et Procur. de M. Francesco fratello de detto M. Titian, como in la procura appresso de M. pred^o como appar da ricever appresso al pred^o M. Antonio in fin del suo lib^o della Sistrada della Fabbric^a de S^to Andrea, lire dusento. Lire 200

D. d. dei 23 Febro, 1553, p . . . [illegible] ut supra li havuti il sopranominato M. Celso Procurator appar ut supra di suo ricever lire cento et diese . . . . . L. 110

D. d. Dei 20 Marzo, 1553, per cont. ut supra li havuti il sunominato M. Celso appar ut supra R^c Lire trenta otto . . . Lire 38

Sotto il dì p^o [rimo] Zugno, 1552.

Per concessi per la Sentenza arbitraria nasciuta tra la Spet. Comunita, et lo Agent. di M. Titian soprasto como nel Libro a c. 19 . Lire 200

Lire 1550

(Copied from the books of the Church of Serravalle for the late Dr. Taddeo Jacobi of Cadore.)

1548, Ceneda.

COUNT GIROLAMO DELLA TORRE TO THE CARDINAL OF TRENT, AT AUGSBURG.

ILL^mo R^mo MONSIGNOR MIO,—

Havendo io inteso V. S. Illmā esser già partita di Roma et ritornata alla Corte di Sua M^tà la occasione del lator presente qual è Messer Titiano Pittore et il primo huomo della Christianità, ho voluto fargli riverentia con questa mia supplicandola voler havere per raccomandato il dito Messer Titiano in tutto quello gli potrà far favore, utile et comodo, lo vogli fare quanto alla persona mia propria, che la mi farà singularissimo piacere. Esso messer Titiano viene de lì chiamato da S.

M^tà per far qualche opera. Altro non mi resta, salvo raccomandarmi alla buona gratia di V. S. Ill^ma, supplicandola a volersene servir di me in ogni occorrenza sua come di uno minimo servitore.

Di CENEDA il vi Genaro del MXLVIII.

Di V^rs S. Ill^ma e R^ma
Servitor, HIERONIMO DELLA TORRE.

Ab extra. All Ill^mo et R^mo S^re il S^gr Cardinal di Trento Sig^r mio osservandissimo.

(Copied from the Codex Mazzettiano, iv. 1366, at Trent, but once printed in the Calendario Trentino for 1854, by T. Gar and B. Malfatti.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1548, Inspruck.

TITIAN TO KING FERDINAND.

SER^O ET POTEN^MO RE, S^OR S^OR CLEMENTISSIMO; benche vostra Regia Maestà D. sua regal bontà me ha fatto gratia che del legname che io comdurò per anni tre che del datio me sia rimesso [word illegible here] cento al anno non di meno S^or gratio^mo sollicitando qui la expeditione me pareno qui li consiglieri de la camera difficultar la litientia de tagliare; in la selva detta rorbolt impero che V. M^ta in la dispositione de la sua signoria non ne fa mentione at dicano che la selva sia dedicata al uso de le minere, il che mi anno fastidito alquanto inperoche non mi persuadeva che dovessino detti consiglieri resistere al ordine di V. M^tà tanto più che Io non son homo da farne marchantia ma solũ per mio servitio et fabriche et ho servito et servo V. M^tà com tanta diligentia et fede qualle se vi cercha in uno sviscerato servitore, et come ben questi S^ri ne possono se voleno se dar buona testimonianza si che humilmente supplico V. M^ta at cometer che non me enpediscono al tagliar in detta selva tanto più che altri per il passato anno tagliatto come ben se puol justifichare et apreso de la quale non sono minere vicine a venti miglia tedeschi et più et puoi facendomi V. M^a gratia in cio non li sarò ingrato servitore ma me afforzaro cum tute mie forze et saper di recognocela.

Li retrati di le ser^me figliole fra duj zorni sarano finite et jo li comdurò a Venetia dove che li com ogni diligentia et mio saper li fornirò et com presteza mandarli a V. M^ta et quell visti che le arano mi rendendo zertto che la M^tà V^trs mi farano molto mazor gratia che nõ e questa che la me anno fatto et a V. M^tà humilmente me recomando.

De ISPRUCH alì XX di Otob. de 48.

D. V. M^tà
el fidel Servitor,
TITIANO.

[On the margin of this letter is the following partial translation into German by one of the secretaries of the King.]

— "und hab als ain trewer dienner gedient und noch dienne wie dan des Sij di herrn Camerrat, wo si wellen, guette Khundschafft geben mugen. Darauf suppliciert Er undterthanigst, di Khu[nigkliche] M^t [Majestät] welle berethen, das Er nit verhindert werde in dem berurten waldt holtz zu hawen. Sonderlick weill auch andere hievor darin holtz zu hawen vergundt worden sey. Wie man soliches woll darbringen vnd justificiren muge, und auch dabei biss in 20 meill wegs khain perckhwerck sey. Solches welle Er in vndterthenigkeit mit allem vleyss zue dienen sich befleissen. Di entwerfung der Khu [nigklichen] M^t geliebtsten Tochter werde innerhalb zwaien tagen vertig, und Er wels mit gen Vennedig fueren, daselbst gar fertigen, vnd alsdan auffs peldist Iwer Khu M^t zueschigken und versiht sich, wan Ir Khu M^t dieselben besehen, werden Ime nit allain die sonder ain merere gnad gnedigst beweissen."

(From the original, 1867, in possession of Mr. Rudolph Weigel at Leipzig.]

[*Unpublished.*]

1550. *Milan Pension.*

1550. Ind^e viii. 3 Febb^o Ferdinandus Gonzaga Cæs^us maiestatis Capitanus gentis et Locumtenens, &c.

Sti^l Rever. et Mag^ci [nobis dilectissimi. Ne tempori defectu Nobilis Titianus Vecelius cujus est presentibus inserta suplicatio remaneat privatus benef^o Pensionis a Cæs^a Maiestate ei concessarum (?), eum ad vos remittimus, ut ad petendum approbationem memoratorum privilegio nunc ipsum admittatis, allegato tempori lapsu non obstante modo eam intra mensem petat.

In MILANO alli 3 di Febb^o 1550.

FERDINANDUS GONZ^A, M. P.

V. TABERNA, T. ROYONOS.

Stt^o Reverend^o et Mag^cis D. Presidi et Senatoribus Cesarei Senatus Mediolani nobis dilectissimis.

(Copied from authentic extracts last in possession of Signor Luigi Mozzi of Serravalle.)

1550—1551, Augsburg.

Armentas de la Casa de D. PHELIPE DE AUSTRIA, Principe de España.

"A Tiziano 60 escudos de oro, 19 Dec. 1550.

"A Tiziano Vezelli pintor 200 duc. de Merced 6 hebr. (February) 1551.

"A Tiçiano Vezelli 30 duc. para pagar ciertas colores que se han traido de Veneçia para mi servicio 6 hebr. 1551."

(From the Archives of Simancas, in the Gazette des Beaux Arts for 1869, i. p. 88.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1552, Venice.

[Simancas, Arch. Estado Leg° 1336.]

TITIAN TO THE PRINCE OF SPAIN.

MOLTO ALTO ET MOLTO PODEROSO SIGNORE,—Essendomi nouamente peruenute alle mani vna Regina di Persia de la manera et qualita com' è l' ho immediate iudicata degna di comparere a l' alta presenza di vostra Altezza. Et così di subito l'ho inuiata a lei con commissione, sino che certe mie altre opere si asciugano, che riverentemente in nome mio faccia alcune ambasciate al' Altezza vostra, accompagnando il Paesaggio et il ritratto di S^ta^ Margarita mandatoui per avanti per il signor Ambassador Vargas racomandato al Vescovo Segovia. Et cosi il nostro signor Iddio guardi et prosperi la molto alta et molto poderosa persona e stato di vostra Altezza con ogni felicità et prosperità secondo chel deuotissimo seruo di vostra Altezza Titiano desidera.

Di VENETIA, alli 11 de Ottobrio, 1552.

Molto alto et molto poderoso signor
Seruo di V. A. che bascia li suoi piedi,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*]

Titian and Philip of Spain, 1553.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

TITIAN TO THE PRINCE OF SPAIN.

MOLTO ALTO ET MOLTO POTENTE SIGNOR,—

Ebbi la lettera de V. Altezza de 12 decembre tanto gratiosa et fauorabile che essendo uecchio mi son ritornato jiouane de modo che V. Altezza ha fatto miraculo in me, ma non è marauigla quando non e altra cosa il grande essere di vostra Altezza et tutte le sue actione alla quale desidero tanto seruire che per solo questo havero cara la uita gia dedicata et consacrata a V. Altezza, et cosi non puo uscir ne per bocca ne per cuore senon il grande Filippo mio signor in testimonio dello quale (interim che metto al ordine le poesie) mando . . . * V. Altezza se stesso per uno seruidore del Signor Imbasador Vargas . . .† ha fatto

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* Here is a rent in the paper.

† Rent in the paper.

con me tanto buon offitio che per questo insieme con li altri tanti grandi fauori et quelo che Don Giouanni de Benauides mi scrise bascio li piedi de V. Altezza la qual Dio conserui per infiniti anni, et mi lascia uedere anzi che mora.

Di VENETIA, a li 23 Marzo, 1553.

Molto alto et molto potente signor basia li Piedi de V^ra^
Altezza suo umile,

TITIANO.

[On the back of this letter is the following minute in the hand of Philip of Spain.]

"Para Italia a 18^o^ de Junio, 1553.
Con Don Antonio de bineros de Madrid.

Respondida.
A Tiçiano.

AMADO Y FIEL NUESTRO,—
Con Ortiz criado del embaxador de Veneçia recibimos una carta vuestra y el retrato que con el nos embiastes que es como de vuestra mano y por el cuydado que tumistes dello os damos muchas graçias y assij podeis tener cierta nostra voluntad para lo que se os offresciere como es razon."

[*Unpublished.*] 1553, Brussels.

[Simancas, S^ria^ di Estado Leg^o^ 1321, f^o^ 123.]

CHARLES THE FIFTH TO FRANCESCO VARGAS.

Aqui se ha dicho que Ticiano era fallecido, y aunque no habiandose despues confirmado no deue ser assi, todauia nos dareis auiso de la verdad y si ha acabado ciertos retractos que lleuo a cargo de hazer quando partio de Augusta o los terminos en que los tiene.

De BRUSELLAS, ultimo de Mayo, MDLiij.

[*Unpublished.*] 1553, Venice.

[Simancas, S^ria^ de Estado Leg^o^ 1321, f^o^ 22.]

FRANCESCO VARGAS TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Ticiano es vivo y esta bueno y no poco alegre por saber que V. Mg^d^ se acueroa del el me hauia hablado antes del quadro de la Trinidad e yo solicitadolo y assi entiende en el y dize que lo dara acabado en todo Septiembre. Helo uisto y parexeme que sera obra digna del, como lo es un quadro que tiene ya al cabo para la serenissima Reyna Maria de la aparicion en el huerto a la Magdalena. El otro quadro dize que es

una tabla de Nuestra Señora ygual del ecce homo que V. Mg^ad^ tiene y que por no hauersele embiado el tamaño como se le dixo no esta hecho que en viniendo lo porua por obra.

VENEÇIA, ultimo de Junio de 1553.

1554, Venice.

TITIAN TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.

All' Eccellentissimo ed Illustrissimo Signore e Padrone
mio osservandissimo,
Il Signor Duca Di Mantova.

ECCELLENTISSIMO ED ILLUSTRISSIMO SIGNOR PADRONE MIO OSSERVANDISSIMO,—Da poi che nacqui, che sono molto anni, sempre sono stato servitore dell' Illustrissima Casa di V. Ecc., servendola in quello che per me si può, e piacque, tra gli altri, all' Ecc. del Signor Duca Federico padre suo mostrarmi molti segni d' amore, facendomi tra gli altri grazia del beneficio di S. Maria di Meldole per un mio figlio, il quale, siccome io vorrei, mi par non sia molto inclinato ad esser uomo di Chiesa, epperò ho pensato di collocare quel beneficio in persona atta a reggerlo ed officiarlo con satisfazione di V. Ecc. e mia: e questa è un mio nipote, al quale lo darò, avendone la buona grazia di V. Ecc., alla quale non vorrei dispiacere in cosa alcuna, e specialmente in questa ch' io riconosco ed ho dalla Illustriss. sua Casa. Epperò supplico lei a contentarsi di questa mia deliberazione, tenendomi per quell' obligato servitore che sono stato alli suoi maggiori, e sarò anche a lei finchè avrò vita. E a quella umilmente bacio la mano, che il Signore Iddio le doni ogni felicità.

Di VENEZIA, alli 26 Aprile, 1554.

Di V. Ecc.
Devoto Servitore,
TIZIANO VECELLIO, *Pittore.*

(Reprinted from Canon Braghirolli's Lettere Inedite.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1554, Venice.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

TITIAN TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

SACRATISSIMA CESAREA MAESTA,—
Mi fu gia assignato per ordine di V. C. M. una prouisione in Milano di ducento ∇ * l'anno et dipoi una tratta di grani nel regno di Napoli;

* Scuti.

nella quale mi trouo hauer speso centenara di scuti in mantenere un uno homo nel regno ; et ultimamente mi fu concessa una naturalezza in ispagna in persona de un mio figliuolo di scuti 500 l'anno di pensione le qual cose tutte non hauendo mai hauuto effetto alcuno per colpa della mia mala sorte, ho uoluto hora dirne una parola a V. M. C. con questa carta sperando chel liberalissimo animo del maggior Imperator christiano che fosse mai non vorra patire che i suoi ordini non siano eseguiti da i suoi ministri, et per che se tale executione hauesse effetto in questo tempo tornaria in me il beneficio opera di charita trouandomi in qualche necesita per essere stato infermo et per hauere maritata una mia figliuola ; ho supplicato la Regina celeste che interceda gratia per me appresso di V. M. C. col ricordo della sua imagine che hora le viene inanzi con quello addolorato effetto che le ha saputo esprimere nel uolto la qualita de miei trauagli. Mando anchora á V. C. M. la sua opera della Trinita, et nel uero se non fossero stati i miei trauagli l'havei fornita et mandata molto prima, anchora che pensando io di sodisfare a V. M. C. non mi son curato di guastare due et tre uolte il lauore di molti giorni per ridurla al termine di mio contento onde ui ho posto piu tempo che non si conveniva ordinariamente. Se io hauero sodisfatto a V. M. C. mi terro assai felice, se ancho no la supplico ad accettare lardente mia uolonta in servirla, la quale non stima altra gloria in questo mondo che il compiacerla : alla quale con tutta la deuotione et humilta del cor mio bascio la inuittissima mano.

Di VENETIA alli x de Settembre, M.D.Liiij.

Il ritratto del Signor Vargas posto nella opera, ho fatto di comando suo : se non piacera a V. M. C. ogni pittore con due pennellate lo potra conuertire in altro.

Di V. M. C.
Humilissimo seruo,
TITIANO, *Pittore.*

[*Unpublished.*] 1554, Venice.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1322, f^o 191.]

FRANCESCO VARGAS TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

A V. Mg^d. ho embiado los dos quadros grande y pequeño de Ticiano, partieron de aqui quatro dias ha. El se ha detenido mucho en hazerlos y no es poco hauer hecho con el los acabase pero todo se le ha de perdonar por la voluntad y deseo que tiene de servir a V. Mag^d. y bondad de ellos que cierto el mayor es obra de grande estima. Nuestro señor la imperial persona y estado de V. Mag^d guarde y prospere por largos tiempos con acrescentamientos de mas reynos y señorios.

Di VENECIA xv de Octubre, 1554.

[*Unpublished.*] 1554, Reggio & S. Andrea del Fabbro.

PRECIS of a power drawn on the 29th of October, Ind. XII. 1554, at Reggio, by the notary Erasmus q^m^ Petri de Burgo, in the house of Canon P. Fr. Martelli of Reggio, and in the presence of the same as well as of Signor Paolo q^m^ Giovanni de' Bocchiani, citizen of Reggio.

In the terms of this power Signor Nicolò Talamio, priest of Reggio and rector of the parish church of Sant' Andrea del Fabbro, in the diocese of Treviso, appoints to be his proxy, special, general, and irrevocable, Signor Tiziano Vecelli, pictor præclarus, layman, living at Venice, and then absent, authorizing him to claim all incomings and returns, present, past, and future, of the benefice above-named, and dispose of the same at his pleasure, without further accounting for the same, and with the faculty of transferring his power to one or more proxies, and, in fact, to take the place of the original holder, who promises solemnly never to interfere or make any claim whatever. The power concludes as follows: "Ego Erasmus q. Dñi P^ri^ de Burgo civis Regis pub S. A. Not. Regiensis suprascr^a^ ŏibus dum sic agerentur interfici, eaq. sic fieri vidi et audivi, ac rogatus scripsi; ideo in præmissorum fidem hic me subscripsi signumq. meum tabellionatus apposui consuetum."

This power was read and copied from the registers of Sant' Andrea del Fabbro for the family of Filomena at Serravalle; the same registers containing a record of 1557, from which it appears that at that date, Pomponio Vecelli was incumbent of the parish. The original précis of the above-mentioned documents, as taken from the genuine papers, is now in possession of Signor Luigi Mozzi of Serravalle.

The following record also gives account of the incumbency of Pomponio:—

"Estimo di Mestre, 1558, 19 Genn^o^, Villa di Quero (on the Piave, province of Belluno). El Benef^o^ al presente posseduto da Mons^er^ Pomponio f^o^ di M. Titiano exc^o^ pittore stà nel cortivo ed una casa di muro coperta di copi."

[*Unpublished.*] London, 1554.

[Simancas, S^ria^ de Estado Leg^o^ 1498, f^o^ 17.]

THE PRINCE OF SPAIN TO FRANCESCO VARGAS.

El quadro de Adonis que acabo Ticiano ha llegado aqui y me paresce de la perficion que dezis aunque uiuo maltratado de un doblez que haya al traues por medio del, el qual se deuio hazer al cogelle, verse ha el remedio que tiene los otros quadros que me haze le dad prissa che los acabe y no me los embieis sino auisadme quando estimieren hechos para que yo os mande lo que se haura de hazer dellos.

From LONDON, December 6, 1554.

[*Unpublished.*] 1555, Adì 20 Marzo, Venice.

Lavinia's Marriage.

Al nome sia di lo Eterno Iddio et de la Gloriosa Vergine Maria et di tutta la Corte Celestial, et in buona vent . . .

El se dichiara come in questo giorno si fà fratello et concluso matrimonio frà il Sp^e M. Cornelio, figlio del g^e M. Marco Sarcinello, Cittadino Cenetensi subabitanti in Serravalle, da una parte, et la discritta Madonna Lavinia, fiola del Sp^e M. Tiziano Vecellio, pittore di Cadore subabitanti Venezia, da l'altra, si come comanda Iddio et la santa Madre Giesia p parole et ptti et p conto dote il Sp^e M. Titiano suo padre sopraditto, li promette et se obbliga a dar al pfato M. Cornelio due 7 mille e quattrocento al 604 & due 7 In questa forma 23 al dar de la man due 7 sei cento al 604 p due 7 et il restante detratto il valor et l'amontar delli beni mobeli p uso de la ditta sposa li promette a dar in tanti contanti p tutto l'anno (1556) mile cinquecento e cinquanto sie qualli siano in tutto p lo amontar et suma delli p detti due 7 mille e quattrocento ut supra. La qual dote il pfatto M. Cornelio con Madonna Caliopia sua madre simul et insolidum togliono et accettano sopra tutti li suoi beni pti et fut^i. Li quali obbligauo in ogni caso et evento di restituir et assicurar la ditta dote. Et cosi il pfato M. Titian a manutenzion della sopraditta dotta promette et obbliga tutti li suoi beni pti et fut^i usque ad integram satisfactionem, et cosi l'una parte et l'altra di sua mano si sottoscriveranno p caution delle sopradicte cosse cosi promettendo esse parti p se et suoi eredi quanto ut supra continetur et osservatur.

Et Io Juanne Alessandrino de Cadori pgado dalle parte.

Io Titian Vecellio sarò contento et affermo et approbo quanto si combina nell' oltrascritto contratto.

Jo Cornelio Sarcinello son contento et affirmo et aprobo quanto se contien nell' oltrascritto contratto.

1555, Adì 19 Zugno in Venezia.

R. Io Cornelio Sarcinello soprascritto dal Sior Titiano soprascritto, mio Socero, schudi cinquecento e cinquantacinque d'oro a l. 6,414 l'uno quali sono Ducati siecento d'oro a l. 604 l'uno et questi o riceputo per parte et a bon conto di dota promessa, et ut supra.

1556, Adì 12 Settembrio in Venezia.

R. Io Cornelio Sarcinello dal S^or Titiano soprascritto, mio suocero, in uno fil de perle et ori et contado p l'amontar di sesto della dota promessami et cosi son pago et contento.

(Copied from the original in 1864, in possession of the heirs of Dr. Pietro Carnieluti of Serravalle.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1556, Brussels.

[Simancas, Srⁱᵃ de Estado Legᵒ 1498, fᵒ 107.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO TITIAN.

EL REY,

Amado nuestro vuestra carta de vij de Março he recibido y visto por ella como teneis acabadas algunas pinturas que nos he mandado hazer de que he holgado mucho y os tengo en seruicio el cuydado y diligencia que en ello aueys vsado. Bien quisiera que me huuierades scripto particularmente quales eran estas pinturas que teneis acabadas y pues el daño que recibio el Adonis se le hizo aqui quando lo descogieron para verle. Y agora las pinturas que me embiaredes estaran libres de correr este peligro yo os encargo mucho que luego en recibiendo esta embolnays muy bien las pinturas que tumieredes acabadas de manera que se puedan traer sin que reciban daño en el camino y las entregueys al Embaxador francisco de Vargas a quien yo scriuo y mando que con el primer correo que viniere si ser pudiere, o por la mejor via y manera que le paresciere me las embie con la mayor breuedad que sea posible. Vos hareys de manera que por lo que se tumiere de hazer de vuestra parte no se difiera este que en ello me hareys mucho seruicio.

De lo que toca a vuestras cosas me auisareys si se han complido porque a no hauesse hecho yo mandare scriuir al duque Dalua de manera que se cumplan.

De BRUSSELAS a iiijᵒ de Mayo de M.D.LVJ.

YO EL REY.

GONZALEZ PEREZIUS.

[*Unpublished.*] 1556, Brussels.

[Simancas, Srⁱᵃ de Estado Legᵒ 1498, fᵒ 108.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO FRANCESCO VARGAS.

EL REY,

Francisco de Vargas del nuestro consejio y nuestro embaxador. Porque yo escriuo a Tiçiano lo que vereys por la copia de su carta, que ira con esta para que os de algunas pinturas mias que tiene acabadas, yo os encargo y mando que dandole mi carta luego las cobreis y me las encarnineis a buen recaudo con el primer correo que viniere, si se pudieren traer por la posta sin recibir daño o por la mejor uia y manera que os paresciere para que yo las tenga aqui con breuedad, que quanto antes me las embiaredes, tanto mas plazer y seruicio me hareys.

De BRUSSELLAS iiijᵒ de Mayo M.D.LVJ.

YO EL REY.

[*Unpublished.*] 1558, Venice.

Church Standard of St. Bernardino.

"1558, 11 Giugno, fu fatto far il stendardo per metter all' abati il giorno della festa di S. Bernardin, da Tizzian Vecellio, Cadorin, pittore famoso, e costi scudi 17 Veneziani come in libro Cassa Vecchio a carta 8 e 9 il quale si conserva in nostro Oratorio."—Archivio di San Giobbe.

(MS. in Morelli's and Cicogna's annotated copy of Morelli's "Anonimo," now in the Venice Library.)

[*Unpublished.*] 1559, Brussels.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 650, f^o 121.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO COUNT DE LUNA.

Ticiano Vecelli, que reside en Veneçia, mi embio al principio del mes de Noviembre del año de lvij vn quadro que el auia acabado para mi con gran cuydado y perfection en que auia un Christo en el sepulchro con otras cinco figuras y remitiola por mano de garcia hernandez secretario de mi embaxador en Veneçia a Lorencio Bordogna de Tassis maestro de postas de Trento el qual lo recibio y encamino con la estafeta ordinaria, segun ha scripto, pero hasta hoy no ha llegado a mi poder ni se ha podido auer rastro del, por mucho que se ha procurado, y porque yo guerria questa cosa se llegasse al cabo, assi para que parezia el dicho quadro, como para que se sepa en quien ha estado la rruindad y sea muy bien castigado, vi encargo mucho que aunque sea diciendolo a su Mag^d si os paresciere que sera menester veais de hazer la diligençia posible, que escriuiendo vos sobrello en mi nombre al maestro de postas os dara hos de como quando y aquien lo entrege, para que me lo truxesen y saber de aquel que lo recibio aquien lo dis y assi de vno por los maestres de postas, que paresce es el mejor medico que puede auer, porque desta manera se uendra al fin a entender en quien quedo o de otra que alla jurgaredes ser mas a proposito a tal quel dicho quadro se halle y auisareisme de lo que in ello se hiziere porque holgare de saberlo.

De BRUSSELAS a 20 de Enero, 1559.

[*Unpublished.*] 1559, Venice.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg 1536.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INVITISSIMO CATHOLICO RE,—

Ho gia fornite le due poesie dedicate a V. M^ta, l' una de Diana al fonte sopragiunta da Atheone, l' altra di Calisto pregna di Gioue spogliata al fonte per comandamento di Diana dalle sue ninfe. Pero quando parerà a V. M. di haverle, quella comandi per cui elle se le habbiamo a mandare; accio che di quelle non auuenga quello che auuenne del

Christo morto nel sepolcro, il quale si smarri per uiaggio. Spero che l' opere saranno tali, che se mai cosa alcuna delle mani mie le è paruta degna della sua gratia, queste non le pareranno indegne. Dopo le hauer mandato queste, mi daro tutto a fornir il quadro del Christo nell' horto et l' altre due poesie gia incominciate, l' una di Europa sopra il Tauro, l' altra di Atheone lacerato da i cani suoi. Nelle quali opere io mettero medesmamente tutto quello poco di sapere che iddio mi ha donato, et che è stato e sara sempre dedicato a i servigi di V. M^ta^ se cosi le piacerà fin ch' io reggero queste membra per il carco de gli anni homai stanche il qual peso ben che da se sia grauissimo nondimeno mi si alleggerisce non so a che modo miracolosamente ogni uolta ch' io m' aricordo d' esser uiuo al mondo per servirla e far la cosa grata.

Fo sapere ancora a V. M. come la mia trista fortuna non mi ha dopo tanto tempo, trauagli, e fatiche per cio fatte, conceduto ancora di poter godere un poco delle prouisione mie, le quali mi si doueuano pagare per le cedule di V. M. da gli agenti suoi di Genoua che ad altro non so darne la colpa che alla mia cattiua sorte, poi che la benignità sua mi è stata sempre tanta cortese in fargli solleciti a questo pagamento et nondimeno il suo seruo Titiano è a quel di prima senza alcun godimento di quelle. Pero humilmente la supplico a far fare quella deuita prouisione che a questo le parerà più opportuna. Et a V. M. con ogni termine di riuerenza offerendo et raccomandandomi le bascio la reale e Catholica mano.

Di VENETIA, alli 19 di Giugno del 59.

Di V^ra^ M^ta^ Catholica
Humilissimo Seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO, *Pittore.*

[*Unpublished.*] 1559, Venice.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o^ 1336.]

Assassination of Orazio Vecelli.

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INVITISSIMO CATHOLICO RE,—

La maluagita di leone Aretino suo seruo indegno è dell' honorato nome di caualiere è di scultor Cesareo e cagione che douendo scriuere alla M. V. di cose a lei più grate e piaceuole, hoggi io dispensi l'ufficio della penna nello scriuerle et le sue cattiue operationi et le mie querele. Essendo questa quadragesima passata Oratio suo seruitore et mio figliuolo andato a Milano in uece mia per esser io stato chiamato dal Duca di Sessa et non potendoui andar come all' hora mezo infermo, et quello che importa più, come impedito nelle pitture di V. M. è occorso che il detto Oratio dopo l'hauer ispedita alcuna facendetta scodesse le pensioni mie di Milano assignatemi gia dalla munificentia et liberalità della gloriosa memoria di Cesare suo genitore, et che mi se doueano pagare per coman-

damento di V. M. della quale egli portaua le lettere d' ispeditione. Donde sapendo esso Leone Aretino della esattione di tali prouisioni mosso da Diabolico instinto si mette in pensiero di assassinarlo, e torgli la uita per torgli il danaro. Et quella sera ch' egli haueua destinato di far quella sua impressa mostrandosi a lui Oratio più de mai cortese et allegro in uolto l' inuita e prega a restar in casa sua per poter eseguir poi comodamente quanto haueua disegnato il suo mal animo. Ma ricusando esso Oratio di uolerui rimanere, l' inimico di Dio et il scelerato suo figliuolo gia bandito dalla Spagna per lutherano fu sforzata dal suo crudele appetito di dar' opera con alcuni compagni pari sui inanzi al dessinato tempo al pensato assassinamento et mostrandogli tuttauia di far careze mentre egli di casa sua si uolea partire ecco uno de i ribaldi riuersargli la cappa in testa, et tutti insieme esserli attorno con l' espade e con i pugnali nudi in mano. Doueche il pouero Oratio colto nel capo all' improuiso, come quello che del tradimento nulla sapeua, ne si poteua imaginare, se ne casco tutto stordito in terra, è riceue prima che mai si risentisse appresso alla prima sei altre acerbissime ferite. Et sarebbe restato del tutto morto se un seruitore ch' era con lui, il quale per portar fuori di casa all' hora certi quadri gia si partiua, non si fosse uolto a dietro, et non hauesse messo mano alla spada sgridando a i traditori ; da i quali resto uulnerato anch' egli di tre ferite miseramente. Tal che se non fosse stata questa posa di difesa che per lo grido da i uicini udito fu cagione di leuar all' assassino la speranza del desiderato guadagno gli' haurebbe con i compagni traditori spogliati e priue della uita e de i danari insieme nel mezo della Ill^ma^ citta di Milano et in casa sua propia sotto pretesto di amica hospitalità in ricompenso de i tanti e tanti beneficii da me et da tutti i miei riceuuti nel tempo delle sue maggior calamità la qual cosa solamente fa ch' io prendo e dolore e marauiglia grandissima et non per ch' io stimi esser impossibile che succedi un tale effetto uerso alcuna persona per man d' un tale percio h' io conosco bene la sua maluagia natura ; per la quale e in bando di tutto il dominio de' Venetiani per mandatario et fu condannato al foco del duca di Ferrara per falsario di monete ; donde poi il suo diauolo il fece fuggire per adoperarlo come suo istrumento in altri catiui portamenti, come fece in Roma donde fu condannato finalmente sotto Papa Paulo III. alla morte per altri enormi delitti como si fara chiaramente uedere alla maestà uostra per li processi che le manderemo le qual tutte pene il tristo caualiere per sua mala uentura ha fuggite, perche la M. V. hauesse occasione di hauer con tante altri meriti appresso la M^ta^ di Dio questo ancora di punir ella o far punire un tal scelerato il quale s' imaginaua di uoler col priuar noi della uita, priuar la M. V. di quella seruitù che da noi tutti se le deue per uoler diuino. Per che se esso Oratio fosse restato morto io le giuro per la mia fede, che dal dolore io che tutta la uita e la speranza mia ho collocata nella sua salute in questa mia impotente uecchiezza, sarei restato ancora priuo da spirito e conseguentemente di poter seruire al mio inuitissimo Re Cattolico per seruir il quale io mi reputo di uiuer felice e fortunatissimo. Pero supplico alla M. V. per

quella uirtù che la rende tanto ammirabile al mondo et accetta a Dio ch' ella si degni di eseguir quella giustitia in questo caso, che alla accerbità di quello et alla sua infinita bontà si richiede o facendo scriuere al Duca suo luogotenente di Milano ouero ad altri nel territorio de quali questo ribaldo si ritroui o comandando ella stessa quanto le par che meriti il più scelerato huomo del mondo. Et alla buona gratia di V. M. humilmente raccomandandomi le bacio la Reale e Catholica mano.

Di VENETIA alli 12 di Giuglio, M.D.LVIIIJ.

D. V. M.

Humilissimo seruitore,

TITIANO VECELIO.

[*Unpublished.*] 1559, Venice.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1323, f^o 262.]

SECRETARY GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

Ticiano tendra in perfecion los dos quadros de Diana y Calisto dentro de xx porque como son grandes y de mucha obra quiere satisfazer a algunas cosillas que otros no mirarian en ellas, juntamente con estos me dara otro de Christo en el sepulchro mayor que el que embiaua a V^ra M^d que tiene las figuras enteras y otro pequeño de una turca o persiana hecho a fantasia que todo es ex^mo.

Estos quadros con los vidros cristalinos para hazer las vedrieras que todo sera acabado a un tiempo y los vasos de vidro que he comprado para beuer agua y para beuer vino de la manera que escriuo al S^rio Gonzalo Perez los embiare muy bien empacados al embaxador de Genoua con persona de recaudo como V. Mag^d me manda, para la paga de lo qual no he tomado dineros a cambio porque la hare de los que yo tengo de vrā. ma^d cuya S. C. y real persona y estado guarde y prospere nuestro señor por largos tiempos con acrescentamiento de mas Reynos y Señorios.

De VENEÇIA iij de Agosto, 1559.

[*Unpublished.*] 1559, Venice.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITTO ET CATHOLICO RE,—

Mando a V. M^ta le pitture che sono Atteone, Calisto et il Saluator nostro nel sepolchro in luogo di quello, che gia si smarri per uiaggio et m' allegro che oltra che questo secondo e di forma più grande che non era il primo egli mi sia nel resto ancora riuscito meglio assai che non fece quell' altro et manco lontano dal merito infinito di V. M. il qual miglioramento in buona parte attribuisco al dolore della perdita del

primo che mi è stato nel far questo et gli altri quadri medesimamente un gagliardo stimolo a sforzarmi di rifar quel danno con doppio auantaggio. Se contra la sua aspettatione et il creder mio ho indugiato si lungamente a finirle et mandarle (che nel uero confesso esser tre anni et più che li ho cominciato) non lo ascriua V. M^tà a mia negligenza che anzi potrei dire con uerità di non hauer atteso gran fatto ad altro come il suo secretario Garcia Hernando che continuamente benche non bisognasse a cio m' ha sempre sollicitato ne puo far fede, ma diane prima la colpa alla quantità dell' opera che ricercauano anco quantità di tempo et poi all' ardente desiderio ch' io tengo di far cosa che sia degna di V. M^tà dal che procede che io non m' appago mai delle mie fatiche, ma cerco sempre con ogni mia industria di polirle et di aggiunger loro qualche cosa ; et perche disgratia non debb' io più che a tutte le altre cose del mondo studiare a ben servire V. M^tà. Perche anzi non debb' io come faccio hauer cio per solo fine proposto alla mia uita restante rifructando la seruitù d'ogni altro Prencipe per seruir lei sola ? Qual pittore antico o moderno si puo uantare et gloriar più di me essendo da un tal Re benignamente detto et dalla mia propria uolontà consacrata a seruirlo ? Io certo me ne tengo tanto buono et do ad intendere a me stesso d' esser da tanto che oso dire non hauer inuidia a quel famoso Apelle cosi caro ad Alessandro Magno et dicolo con ragione impero che s' io considero alla dignità del signore da noi seruito non so vedere qual altro sia o fosse mai dopo lui più a lui simile di V. M. in tutte quelle parti che sono marauigliose et degne di lode in un gran principe ; quanto poi alle persone vostre benche nel uero il mio poco ualore non sia di gran lunga da esser paragonato alla eccellenza di quel singolare huomo a me basta pero che si come egli fu in gratia del suo re cosi io parimente mi sento essere in quella del mio. Percioche l' authorità del suo benigno giudicio congiunto alla magnanimità ueramente Reale che usa meco di continuo mi fa simile et forse anco da più che non fu Apelle nella opinione degli huomini. Onde io per dimostrarmi grato a V. M. per tutti quei modi ch' io posso imaginarmi le mande oltra gli altri quadri anchora il ritratto di quella che è patrona assoluta dell anima mia et che è la uestita di giallo della quale nel uero benchè sia dipinta, non potrei mandarlo più cara et pretiosa cosa. Ma eccomi testimonio grande della humanissima et gentilissima natura di V. M. poi che ella porge ardire a me, che son rispeto al suo alto grado cosi bassa persona di giuocar con lei per letere et cio basti quanto alle pitture. Scrissi i di passati alla M. V. in materia del brutto assassinamento fatto in Milano da leone Aretino a mio figliuolo Horatio et delle mortal ferite dateli supplicandola a farlo meritamente castigare secondo il costume della sua giustitia. Si formo bene processo contra lui et fù usata instanza grandissima da mio figliuolo da poi che fu guarito per la gratia di N. S. Dio perchè fosse spedito, et per cio fu necessitato anchora a spender molti delli danari scossi in Milano dalla cortesia di V. M^tà ma quel tristo è tanto cauilloso et fauorito per il nome che spende indegnamente di statuario di V. M. et per il contrario mio figliuolo mentre fu in Milano forestiero et poco conosciuto

che le cose si sono tirate e tirano tuttauia in lungo et anderanno facilmente in fumo con macchia et infamia della giustitia e tanto più quanto mio figliuolo e tornato a casa ne e alcuno in Milano che si possa opporre alle astutie et opere et fauori di quel reo huomo. Per la qual cosa prego humilissimamente et affettuosissimamente la M. V. che ci degni far scriuere a quell' Illustrissimo Senato che debba espedire un caso di cosi mala natura com' è questo con quella esemplar giustitia che si conuiene, mostranda che ella me habbia nel numero de suoi serui. Il suddetto mio figliuolo Horatio (che me l'hauea dimenticato) le manda insieme con li miei un suo quadretto con un Christo in croce da lui dipinto. Degnisi V. M. d' accettarlo come un picciolo testimonio del gran desiderio ch' ha de imitar suo padre nel seruirla et farle cosa grata et a lei con tutta la inclination del cuor mio insieme con lui raccomandandomi le bascio la Reale et Catholica mano.

Di Venetia, a xxvij di Settembre, M.D.LVIIIJ.

Di vostra Maestà Catholica
Humilissimo et diuotissimo seruo,
Titiano Vecellio.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1559.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o f^o 245.]

Garcia Hernandez to Philip the Second.

Minute of despatches of Sept. 27 and Oct. 11, 1559.

"Que hauia remitido a Genoua los vidrios, vedrieras y retratos de Ticiano conforme a lo que V. M^d le embio a mandar."

"El Ticiano escribe en una de 23 (22) de Setiembre los quadros que le embia a V. M^d y uno de mano de Horatio suo hijo que es al que leon Aretino hizo dar las heridas, y supplica a V. M^d con istancia mande escriuir con la misma al senado que le hagan justicia conforme a la fealdad del delicto."

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1560.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o 1336.]

Titian to Philip the Second.

Serenissimo e Catholico Re,—

Io mandai molti giorni sono a V. M. le pitture che io feci di suo ordine. E non hauendo insino a questo dì inteso cosa alcuna, sono indoto a dubitare o che V. M. non le habbia hauute; overo che piaciute non le siano, la qual cosa se cosi fosse mi sforzerei riffaccendole di far si che V. M. ne rimanesse sodisfata. Stimo che di gia haura inteso la

offesa a me fatta da Leone scultore nella persona di mio figliuolo il quale mio figliuolo non è mancato da lui di leuar di uita in Milano senza veruna cagione con brutto assassinamento insino nella propria casa. La cui morte, se come costui disiderò e cercava, fosse seguita senza dubbio ne sarebbe anche seguita quella del suo seruitor Titiano che lo ama quanto padre del amar figluolo uirtuoso e giouene buono et innocente. Que in contrario Leone e conosciuto persona cattiua e scandalosa si come quello che per le sue maluage opere in Roma fu condannato a perder la testa, e poi per gratia fatagli alla galia: e sbandito per monetario di Ferrara e di Venetia per altre ribalderie simile e di altri luoghi. E si puo atribuire a gran uentura che Cesare di gloriosa memoria che fu principe di tanto giudicio gli fece fauor di riceuerlo per scultore il quale hauesse a rappresentar la sua imagine trouandosi per la Italia dozzine di scultori che ne sanno più di lui ma rendendomi certo che la giustitia di V. M. non lascierà impunito un delito tale quantunque egli si confido ne i fauori di molti Prencipi della corte di V. M. a tale che gli par di poter commeter qualunque sceleratezza senza esser punito, faro qui fine baciando humilmente le mani a V. M. Catolica che Iddio la esalti e prosperi sempre.

Di VENETIA, a 24 di Marzo, 1560.

Di V. Catolicà Maestà
Humil Seruitor.
(Not signed.)

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1560.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITISSIMO E POTENTISSIMO RE,—

Sono hoggi mai sette mesi che io mandai a V. M. le Pitture che mi furono da lei ordinate e non hauendo insino a qui hauuto auiso del ricapito mi sarebbe singolar gratia a intender se elle sono piaciute, che quando non fossero piaciute al perfetto giudicio di V. M. mi afaticherei col riformarne di nuoue, di emendare il passato errore e quando le fossero piaciute mi porrei con migliore animo a finir la fauola di Gioue con Europa e la historia di Christo nell 'orto, per far cosa che non riuscisse del tutto indegna di si gran Re. Le cedule delle quali V. M. mi fece gratia per i danari assegnati a mia mercede in Genoua V. M. sara ragua-gliata che non hanno hauto effetto onde pare che ella che so vincer potentissimi e superbi nimici con l'inuitissimo suo ualore non sia obedita da suoi ministri in guisa che io non ueggio come posso sperar di ottener giamai questi danari diputatemi dalla detta sua gratia. Pero humil-mente la suplico che con la Sua Regal Maesta uoglia uincer la ostinata insolenza di costoro o commettendo ch' io tosto fossi sodisfatto da loro o uolgendo a Venetia o doue più le piace la espedition del pagamento in

modo che la sua liberalità producesse nel suo humil seruitore il frutto da lei ordinato. Mi astringe anco la diuotion mia a ricordarle che V. M sia seruita di commetter che siano dipinte a memoria de posteri le gloriose et immortali uittorie di Cesare. Della quali io disidero di essere il primo a farne alcuna per segno di grato animo uerso i molti benefici riceuuti da sua Maestà Cesarea e da V. M. Catolica onde mi sarà singolar fauore che ella mi degni di farmi intendere il lume, secondo la qualità e condition delle sale o camere nelle quali haura a esser riposta. Et in buona gratia di V. Catolica Maestà humilmente mi raccomando.

Di VENETIA, alli 22 di Aprile, MDLX.

Di V. Catolica Maestà
Humil Seruo.
(Not signed.)

Date of Francesco Vecelli's death.

Cadore, 1560.

Deed of May 21, 1560, drawn by Toma Tito Vecelli, and signed at Pieve di Cadore before Gio. Alessandrini, notary, and Giovanni de Lupi of Valvasono, in which Orazio Vecelli, acting for his father on the one hand, and Lazaro and Dionisio quondam M. Burei of Nebbiù on the other, come to terms as to the contested ownership of land sold under conditions of re-purchase by the late (*fu*) Francesco Vecelli.

[The deed, of which the foregoing is a description, is on parchment, and was transcribed by Dr. Taddeo Jacobi of Cadore. It shows that Francesco Vecelli was at this time dead, and it so far confirms the notice of his death conveyed by the funeral oration of Vincenzo Vecelli, publicly read as alleged at Cadore in 1559.]

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1561.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

SERENISSIMO E CATOLICO RE,—

Ho inteso per lettere del Delfino che a V. M. Catolica sono piaciute le pitture che io le mandai cioè la poesia di Diana alla fonte, la fauola di Callisto, il Christo morto e i Re d'Oriente di che ho presso quella contentezza che si ricerca al desiderio ch' io ho di servirla riputando a grandissima felicità che le cose mie piacciano a un tanto Re. Hora ringratio da capo V. M. de i due mila scudi di i quali gia tre anni sono ella mi fece gratia commettendo che mi fosser pagati in Genoua ancora che la sua molta liberalità uerso me non habbia hauuto luogo onde il non esser V. M. stata obedita me le stato cagione di non picciol danno

percioche appoggiandomi sopra la speranza di questi danari comperai una possessione per sostegno di me e di miei figliuoli la qual mi e poi conuenuto com mio gran dispendio uendere et alienare. Supplico adunque humilmente la V. Altezza che poi che con la grandezza del suo liberale animo s'è degnata di farmi mercè di detti due mila scudi i quali per maluagità della mia fortuna non ho potuto hauere sia seruita di commettere che mi siano pagati qui in Venetia. E per interceditrice di questo ho apparecchiato una pittura della Maddalena la quale la si appresentarà innanzi con le lagrime in su gli occhi e supplicheuole per li bisogni del suo diuotissimo seruo. Ma per mandarle questa, aspetto da V. M. esser raguagliato a cui debbo consegnare accio non uadano di male come e auenuto del Cristo in tanto apparechiero il Christo nel l' horto la poesia della Europa e le prego quella felicità che merita la sua real corona.

Di VENETIA a 2 di Aprile MDLXI.

Di V. Catholic Maestà
Humil Seruo,
TITIANO.

On the bottom of the sheet is the following memorandum in Philip the Second's hand:

"Pareçome que he ordenado ya esto y se ha escrito si pasen a eraso y acordadme lo que aqui dice."

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1561.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITISSIMO CATHOLICO RE,—

Poi che merce della singular benignità della M. V. ho par al fine riscosso il pagamento delli danari di Genoa hora uengo con questa ad inchinarmele humilmente e renderle quelle gratie che da me si ponno maggiori e poi che (per) quello io sono in parte sgrauato di alcuni miei trauagli, spero di poter spendere più quietamente e largamento il resto del uiuer mio in seruitio di V. M. mio solo signore, al quale io mi sento devotissimo et obligatissimo insieme. Vero è ch' io ho hauuto di tal pagamento dugento ducati manco di quello che la M. V. haueua ordinato per le prima sue cedule non essendo specificato nell' ultima che mi si douesse pagar tal danaro in tanti scudi d'oro donde è auuenuto che ho hauuto a ragion di ducati. Pero se cosi piacesse alla sua clementia di far dechiarire questo io haurei il supplemento che mi sarebbe di non picciolo giouamento. Io sto in aspettando che la M. V. anchora mi mande a commettere a cui debba consignare il quadro della Stª Maria Maddalena il quale gia molti giorni le ha promesso et fornito in modo che se la M. V. si è mai compiaciuta d' alcuna delle opere mie

di questa non si compiacerà meno. Quella potra dunque mandar a suo piacere persona fidata acciocche egli non si smarrisca como ho inteso che è auuenuto del Christo morto et de altri quadri gia molti dì sono. In tanto andrò riducendo a compimento il Christo nell horto, l'Europa et altre pitture che ho gia disegnato di fare per V. M. alla quale humilmente offerendo e raccomandandomi bacio la Reale e Catholica mano.

Di VENETIA alli 17 d' Agosto, MDLXI.

Humil Seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[The following memo. is on a slip attached to the above].

Lo que dize Tiçiano en una carta de xvii de Agosto, 1561.

1°. Supplica a V. M^d mande que le sean pagados dozientos escudos que se le que dan deuiendo de los dos mill escudos que V. M^d le mando pagar in Genoua que se le descontaron per no dezir en la cedula scudos de oro in oro.

2°. Que a quien manda V. M. que entregue la Magdalena que esta acabada para que benga a buen recaudo.

3°. Que queda haziendo otros quadros que contentaran mucho a V. M^d.

[On the margin in the king's hand].

1°. Yo mandare darlos aqui que sera de menos embaraço, y se lo haveis embiar.

2°. Entreguela a garci hernandez y al se escriba que me la embia a buen recado y que me embie de aquellas vidrieras que embio los otros dias otras tantas cajas y de la misma manera no se me acuerda que orden se tubo en la paga dellos para que la misma se tenga agora y escreuilde vos que os ainse de lo que cuestan particularmente porque quiero ver quanto mas es que las de aca.

3°. A Ticiano que de priesa a estos cuadros que dice y los entregue tambien al secretario y que sembien a muy buen Recado y embiesele carta para que desde Genoua los embien al mismo Recado.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1561.

[Jacobi MS.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO TITIAN.

Don Philippe per la gracia de Dios Rey de España, etc. Amado nuestro. Holgamos de entender por vuestra carta de xvii de Agosto que tenniesedes ya acabado el quadro de la Magdalena, y que vos estime esse del tan satisfecho del como dezis, porque desta manera tenemos por cierto que deve estar en toda perfection, y porque sendo tal quetriamos mucho tenerle aca con brevedad, y bien travado, osemcargamos que vos de vuestra mano lo adreseis, y pongeis de manera, que no se pueda dañar en el camino, y que lo ensegnais al secretario Garci Hernandez mi criado, que ay reside, que yo le ombis a mandar y me lo encamine a

recaudo, y al mismo envegareis los otros quadros de Christo e nel huerto, y la Europa, y los Irmas, como los fueredes acabando porque el tambien me los vaga ombiando, y reciboie mucho plazer, y servicio, en quo os deis en ellos toda la mayor prissa que sen pudiere.

He visto lo que desis, que por nos essere specificado escudos de oro en la cedula de los dos mill. que os mande librar en Genova seos dieron doziento menos y porque mi volontad fue, y es que se os paguen enteramente los dichos dos mill escudos mandave que a qui seos den luego los dicos dozientos, que faltaron parag^{a}.

Seos remitan de Madrid a xxii de Octubre, 1565 [1561].

A Tergo. A su mag. Ticiano.

[*Unpublished.*] 1561, Venice.

[Simancas, S^{ria} de Estado Leg^{o} 1324, f^{o} 10.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

S. C. R. M.,—

Luego que recebi la letra de V. M^{d} de xxij del passado di la suya a Tiçiano con que holgo infinito, el quadro de la Magdalena aunque escrivio que estaua acabado, todauia labra en el, en dandomelo que sera dentro de ocho dias lo embiare al Marques de Pescara con la letra de V. M^{d} que me paresce el mas çierto y breue camino encargandolo muy de veras a algun correo como es de creer que lo hara, dizen los que se entienden del ques la mejor cosa que ha hecho Tiçiano en los otros dos quadros trabaja poco a poco como hombre que pasa de ochentos años, dize que para hebrero los terria in orden y que los embiara a V. M^{d} con el Ambaxador Veneçiano que ha de partir entonces, yo lo solicitare perche no se pierda tan buena occasion. V. Mag^{d} sera seruido mandar que se le paguen 400 ∇^{os} que ha de auer del entretenimiento que V. M^{d} le haze merced de dos años passados que como viejo es un poco codicioso y con ello terua mas cuidado, cayas tiene el cargo y recaudo para los cobrar del Tesoro.

Las vedrieras de cristal se estan haziendo y se acabaran al fin deste mes y luego las embiare a Genoua al Embaxador Figueroa con la letra de V. M^{d} yran en dos caxas con otra de vasos de vidrio para beuer vino y por beuer agua y le escreuire y solicitare hasta que se hayan embarcado porque las otras con los quadros estuuieron alli un ano y de loque costaren con lo demas que gastado en seruiçio de V. Mag^{d} embiare la quenta, cuya S. C. R. persona y estado guarde y prospere nuestro señor per largos tempos con acrecentemiento de mas Reynos y señorios.

De VENEÇIA, xx de Nouiembre, 1561.

S. C. R. M^{d}

Criado de V. M^{d} que sus reales pies y manos besa,

GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1561.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

I. C. R.,—

Sogliono tutti i sudditi e fedeli seruitori d' alcun prencipe dar a certo tempo alcuna cosa al loro signore e testimonio della loro fedelta ogni anno continuamente ; pero anch' io in queste giorni che si suol dar la manza altrui in segno dell' affettione che si porta alla persona a cui si dona, hora che ho fornito il quadro della S^ta^ M. Maddalena lo mando alla M. V. come cosa della quale maggiore non puo uscire dalle mie picciole forze consignatolo al Secretario Garzia Hernando, si come ella mi ha commesso per sue lettere. La M. V. si degnera dunque di accettarlo e goderlo per favorire il suo fidelissimo seruitor Titiano come una arra della deuotion mia uerso lei, della qual deuotione ella contemplerà l' esempio da quella che espressa nel uolto di questa santa uerso Dio et cosi le potra esser una uiua memoria dinanzi a gli occhi catholici e benigni del buono affetto mio mentre andro riducendo a compimento l' altre pitture che gia sono in buon termine con quell' amore e caldezza d' animo, la quale ha fatto destinare tutta la mia uita al seruitio suo. Et alla buona gratia, &c.

Di VENETIA, il primo giorno di Dicembre, 1561.

Di V. M. C.
Humilissimo, &c.
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1561.

[Simancas, S^ria^ de Estado Leg° 1324.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

El quadro de la Madalena me dio Ticiano y lo embio al Marques de Pescara con la letra de V. Mag^d^ es de creer que le mandara da buen recaudo. Las vedrieras iran a Genoua con la primera conduta que ya estan en orden y son muy buenas.

De VENEÇIA, xij de Diciembre, 1561.

Nuestro Señor, &c.
GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

SAME TO THE SAME.

Venice, 1562.

[Simancas, S^ria^ de Estado Leg° 1324, f° 169.]

Ticiano acabara presto otro quadro pequeño que haze para V. M^d^ el qual embiare al maestro de postas de Milan por donde yra mas seguro y

breuemente y le screuire que lo hago por mandado de V. Mag^{d} y que lo encamine con el primer correo que de alli se despachare.

De Veneçia, x de Abril, 1562.

Nuestro Señor, &c.,
Garcia Hernandez.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1562.

[Simancas, Estado L^{o} 1336.]

Titian to Philip the Second.

Serenissimo e Catholico re,—

Ho finalmente con l'aiuto della diuina bontà condotto a fine le due pitture ch' io cominciai per la Catholica M^{a} V. l'una è il Christo che ora nell' orto l'altra la poesia di Europa portata dal Toro le quali io le mando. E posso dire che elle siano il sogello delle molte altre che da lei me furono ordinate e che in piu uolte le mandai. E benche quanto all' ordine che dalla V. Catholica M^{a} mi fu imposto non mi resto a far altro; e che io mi sia deliberato per la mia uecchia età di riposar quelli anni, che dalla M^{a} di Dio mi saranno conceduti, nondimeno hauendo dedicato quello ingegno ch' è in me a seruigi di V. M^{a} quando io conosco come spero che queste mie fatiche all' ottimo suo giuditio siano grati, porrò similmente tutto lo spatio della uita che mi auanza in far molto spesso alla V. M^{a} Catholica riverenza con qualche mia nuoua pittura affaticandomi che l' mio penello le apporti a quella sodisfattione ch' io desidero e che merita la grandezza di si alto Re e faro tanto che V. M^{a} mi comandi, andrò facendo una imagine di nostra signora col bambino in braccio sperando di adoperarmini in guisa che quella non piacerà meno delle altre pitture e nella buona gratia di V. M^{a} humilmente, &c.,

Di Venetia, a xxvi di Aprile, mdlxij.

Deuotissimo humil seruo,
Titiano.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1562.

Titian to Vecello Vecelli of Cadore.

. . . . P.S.—Horatio vi manda il vostro quadretto d' Adonis, il quale è bellissimo, e lo godrete per fino che si attende a fornir l'altro di nostra donna.

Alli comandi vostri
Tiziano Vecelli.

Di Venezia, 24 Maggio, 1562.

[Copied from the original in possession of the late Dr. Taddeo Jacobi of Cadore.]

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1563.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITISSIMO ET POTENTISSIMO RE,—

Dopo molti mesi ch' io non ho fatto humil riuerenza alla Mª V. eccetto che con l' animo come faccio continuamente, hora son uenuto a farlo con queste letere, spinto dalla infinita allegrezza ch' io sento della sua gloriosa vittoria la quale nostro signor degni per sua bontà di crescer maggiormente di giorno in giorno a gloria del mio gran Re et ad utile di Christianità ; et per montrar alla M. V. quanta sia la mia deuotione uerso di lei et quanto di continuo desidero et mi affatico di piacerle seruendola comunque io posso, le faccio insiememente intendere che quantunque non mi reste più a far cosa alcuna di quelle che ella gia si degnò di comandarmi nondimeno son per ridurre a compimento fra pochi giorni un quadro di pittura gia sei anni da me incominciato con intentione che V. M. Catholica dopo molte pitture di fauulosa inventione godesse di mia mano una materia historica di deuotione per ornamento de alcuna sua sala, et questa è una cena di nostro signore con li dodici apostoli di larghezza di braccia sette et de altezza di quatro et più ; opera forse delle più faticosse et importanti ch' io habbia fatto per V. M., la quale quanto prima sarà fornita le inuiarò per quei mezi che le piacerà di commettermi. In tanto supplico humilmente la M. V. per la sua alta pietà che auanti ch' io mora ella mi faccia gracia di sentir qualche consolatione e frutto di quella tratta di formenti di Napoli già tanto tempo concessami dalla gloriosa memoria di Cesare suo genitore ; et oltra di questo di alcuna pensione che a lei piacesse per dar effetto a quella naturalezza di Spagna che già mi fu donata nella persona di mio figliuolo degnandosi anchora d' esser seruita che per alcuna sua efficace et ualida cedula indrizzata al Duca di Sessa io possa riscuoter le mie ordinarie prouisioni dalla camera di Melano, le quali mi restano di gia più di quatro anni ch' io non ho scosso pur un quatrino acciocchè con qualche opportuno tratenimento io possa sostentarmi in questa mia ultima uecchiaia mentre io mi sforzo con uiuer lietamente di prolungar i termini della morte solamente per poter seruir il mio gran signore, alla cui &a,

Di VENETIA, il XXVIIJ giorno di luglio, MDLXIIJ.

Di V. M. Catholica

Deuotissimo humil seruo,

TITIANO VECELLIO, *pittor.*

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1563.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1324, f^o 193.]

Garcia Hernandez in account with the Spanish Government.

Cuenta de lo que costaron los vidrios y vedrieras y colores que ha embiado Garcia Hernandez a su Ma^d.

(Inclosure in despatch of G. H. to Philip the Second, dated Venice, Oct. 1, 1563.)

Lo que se ha gastado en Veneçia en los vidrios y vedrieras que Garcia Hernandez ha embiado a su Mag^d y por su mandado es lo siguiente :

En v de Octubre de 1559 embie a Genoua quatro caxas de vasos de vidrio para bever agua y para beuer vino y dos de vedrieras de christal lustradas para ventanas costaron las vedrieras que fueron 450 piezas ciento y uno que suman . . . . . 320 ∇^os*

Costaron las caxas y ponerlas en orden con el daçio quinze escudos . . . . . xv ∇^os

Gastaronze en lleuar estas caxas a Genoua con otros dos en que fueron los quadros de Christo en el sepulchro y Diana y Calisto que embio Tiçiano a su Mag^d veinte y cinco escudos y quinze que di a un hombre que lleuo cargo dellas y consinarlas al embaxador Figueroa e que se detuno un mes, y cinco escudos que pague a Tiçiano que gaste en poner en orden los quadros suman quarenta y cinco escudos. . . . xlv ∇^os

En primero de Agosto de 1560 pague a Ticiano tres escudos que gasto en poner en orden el quadro de los tres reyes que embie a su M^d con los embaxadores veneçianos . . . . . iij „

En xv de Diciembre del dicho año† pague a Ticiano dos escudos que gasto en poner en orden el quadro de la Magdalena que embie por uia del Marques de Pescara per orden de su M^d. . . . . ij „

En xv de Septiembre de 1561 pague por dos onças de azul ultramarino y otros colores que compro Ticiano por mandado de su M^d treinta y ocho escudos . . [blank.]

En xv de hebrero de 1562 compre 450 piezas de vedrieras lustradas por mandado de su M^d costaron ciento y noventa y seis escudos . . . . . cxcvj „

Pague por las caxas y caxetas en que fueron algodon, daçio y otras cosas trece esc^s. . . . . xiij „

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* Escudos.

† This date is wrong. It is clear from the correspondence that the Magdalen was sent to Spain in 1561.

Pague a un hombre que las lleuo a Genoua con los cuadros de Christo en la oracion y la Europa que Tiçiano embio a su Mag^{d} veinte y çinco escudos y cinco que se gastaron en poner en orden los dichos quadros suman . . . . . xxx ∇^{os}

En xx de Março de 1563 compre seis centas pieças de vidrieras de christal lustradas y una caxa de vasos de vidrio para beuer agua y para beuer vino costo todo con daçio caxas y conduta hasta Genoua trezientos e dezisiete escudos y medio . . . . . cccxvij½ „

Que suma todo nueveçientos y setentà y nueve escudos y medio de oro. . . . . Dcccclxxix½ „

GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1563.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^{o} 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

POTENTISSIMO ET INUITTISSIMO CHATOLICO RE, &c.,—

Non hauendo gia molte e molte man di lettere mandate insieme con le pitture a V. M. hauuto mai da lei risposta alcuna, io temo grandemente che o le pitture mie non le siano state di sodisfattione o che 'l suo seruo Titiano non le sia piu in gratia come gli pareua di esser prima. Pero mi sarebbe oltra modo caro di esser certo o dell' una cosa o dell' altra perche sapendo le intentione del mio gran Re mi sforzarei di far si che per auentura cessarebbe ogni cagione delle mie doglianze dunque le infinita benignità di V. M. si degni de esser seruita ch' io resti consolato al meno di ueder il suo sigillo se non sue letere che le giuro per la deuotione mia uerso di lei che se queste fia sarà possente a giunger diece anni di piu a questa mia ultima età per seruir la M. del mio Catholico Signore oltra che questo sarà un eccitamento a mandarle con piu lieto e sicuro animo la cena di Christo con gli apostoli della quale altre uolte le ho scritto. Questa pittura e un quadro lungo braccia otto et alto cinque et di corte sarà fornita. Pero la M. V. si degnara similmente di esser seruita ch' io sappia a cui douerlo consignare accioche la materia di questa deuotione possa esser a V. M. un testimonio della mia uerso di lei. Et perche delle ante altre mie pitture mandate fin hora a V. M. non ho hauuto mai pur un minimo danaro in pagamento io non ricerco altro dalla sua singolar benignita e clementia se non che al meno mi sieno pagate le mie prouisioni ordinarie dalla camera di Milano per comandamento di V. M. di quella maniera che la sua benignità sa imponere quando uuol souuenir efficacemente i suoi deuotissimi seruitori. Della qual cosa supplicando

humilmente V. M. Catholica et dedicandole il resto di questa mia ultima uecchiezza in suo seruitio mi raccomando in sua buona gratia.

Di VENETIA, il 6 giorno di Dicembre del MDLXIIJ.

Di V. M. Catholica
Humil seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Barcelona, 1564.

[Simancas, Srıa de Estado Legº 1325.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

(*Minute.*)

Barcelona, March 8, 1564.

A Tiçiano respondo a dos cartas que me ha escripto lo que vereis que sera bien que vos se lo declareis porque lo entienda mejor (sobre lo que a el le toca escriuo a Milan y a Napoles tan encarescidamente que tengo por çierto se cumplira lo que allì ha de hauer y assi se lo podeis dezir y con esta yran las cartas) que vos le ayudareis a encaminallas y yo por aca escriuire lo mismo encargando el cumplimiento dello.

Y porque el me escriue que tiene acabada vna pintura de la cena de Christo nuestro señor de vna grandeza que deue * cosa rara y siendo de su mano y que yo le auise como me la ha de embiar le scriuo que dandoosla a vos me la encaminareis yo os encargo mucho que vos la recibais del como os la diere empacada y de manera que no pueda recibir daño la embieis á Genoua a mi Embaxador para que desde alli me la encamine con las galeras ó en algun nauio que venga a alicaleo cartagena que en ello me seruireis.

[*Unpublished.*] Barcelona, 1564.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO TITIAN.

(*Minute.*)

A Ticiano. Barcelona, March 8, 1564.

Don Phelippe, &c.,

AMADO NUESTRO,—Dos cartas vuestras he recibido la postrera de vj de deziembre la qual no ha sino quatro o cinco dias que llego y he holgado con ella mucho por saber que teneis salud y que siempre atendeis a hazer cosas que me deu contentamiento como lo sera la pintura de la cena de Christo y en tal grandeza y perfiçion como sera de vuestra mano y assi os tengo en seruiçio lo que en esto haueis trabajado que yo terne dello la memoria que es razon la pintura podreis dar a garçi hernandez

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* So in the original.

muy bien en orden y puesta de manera que no reciba daño en el camino) en lo que toca a vuestras cosas escribo a napoles y milan como os dira garçi hernandez y me pesa que no se cumpla con vos como es razon pero yo lo mandare de manera que no aya falta que en esto y en todo conoscereis siempre la voluntad que os tengo.

De BARÇELONA.

[*Unpublished.*] Barcelona, 1564.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO THE VICEROY OF NAPLES.

AL VISOREY DE NAPOLES,—

Auiendo entendido que no se cumple bien a Ticiano Vecellio Pintor Veneciano vna trata de grano de que el Emperador mi señor y padre que esta en gloria le hizo merçeo en esse Reyno muchoz años ha y desseando yo que en esto no aya falta assi porque se cumpla la voluntad de su mag^d como es razon como por la que el temo y yo tengo a Ticiano por los agradables seruiçios que nos ha hecho y nos haze os lo auemos que vido dar a entender por esta y encargaroz y mandaros que luego que se os de veais la patente o cedula que el dicho Ticiano tiene de su Mag^d que aya santa gloria y proveais y deis tal orden en la execucion y cumplimiento della assi de lo passado como en lo poruenir que el tenga causa de quedar contento y que no sea menester scriuiros yo otra vez sobrello (porque demas de ser esta mi uoluntad me hareis en ello muy açcepto seruicio y como tal os lo escriuo tambien en otra carta de negocios de la data desta como uereis) la qual restara al presentante.

Datum en BARCELONA a viij° de Março, 1564.

[*Unpublished.*] Barcelona, 1564.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO THE DUKE OF SESSA.

AL GOUERNADOR DE MILAN,—

Ya deueis saber como Tiçiano Vecellio Pintor Veneçiano tiene çierta prouision ordinaria consignada en essa nuestra camara y porque el nos ha hecho y haze tan agradables seruicios que holgaria yo mucho que le fuese mejor pagado que hasta aqui pues segun he entendido se le deuen mas de quatro años que por mucho que lo ha instado y procurado no los ha podido cobrar segun entiendo os he querido escriuir esta para encargaros y mandaros que luego que la recibais veais el priuilegio o cedula que el dicho Tiçiano tiene de la dicha su prouision y averignado lo que en virtud de ella se le deue de lo corrido deis tal orden que con effecto se le pague todo aquello a el o a su procurador sin que en ello aya falta ni dilaçion de qualesquier dineros desa nuestra camara ordi-

narios o extraordinarios y en falta de ellos de algun otro expediente de que a vos alla os pareres que se podra mejor cumplir y con mas breuedad lo que assi huuiere de auer el dicho Tiçiano y para lo porvenir dareis assi mismo tal orden que a sus tiempos y tandas del año se le deu sus pagas sin que se le alarguen ni sea menester que yo os escriua mas sobre ello que esta es mi voluntad y de que sere muy seruido. Datum &c.

BARCELONA, a 8 de Março de 1564.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1564.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

S. C. R. M.,—

A Tiçiano di el despacho que vino con la carta que V. Mag^d mando scriuirme en viij^o del pasado que lo estimo en lo que es razon, lo de Napoles es cosa vieja y no se acuerda, como estan viejo, donde tiene los recaudos de la merced que el Emperador de gloriosa memoria le hizo en hallandose le dire lo que ha de hazer y en esto y en lo demas le ayudan y encaminare como V. Mag^d me manda, el se contentaria por agora conque se le pagase lo que ha de hauer en Milan a lo qual embiara persona propria tambien suplica a V. Mag^d sea seruido mandar que se le pague lo que ha de hauer en essa corte del entretenimiento que V. Mag^d le haze merçed en cada vn año.

El quadro que haze para V. Mag^d de christo nuestro señor en la cena es muy grande y no esta acabado como el escriuio dize que trauajara de tenerlo en perfection por todo mayo y yo lo soliçito y solicitare cada dia hasta que lo acabe y en estando en orden bien empacado como conviene lo embiare al Embajador de Genoua como V. Mag^d me manda.

En xxiiij^o del passado remiti al dho Embaxador tres caxas con 700 vidrieras todas de vna grandeza que el secretario Gonzalo Perez me scriuio en xxvj de agosto passado embiasse para seruiçio de V. Mag^d y escreui que las encaminasse con la primera ocasion que se offresciesse V. Mag^d sera seruido mandar que se le scriua lo mismo.

En xxj de julio del año passado embie a Genoua entre otras dos caxas con 600 vedrieras de tres tamaños para V. Mag^d y el secretario Gonçalo perez me scriue que no resçibio mas de la vna con 300 menos quatro y la otra se deuio quedar por descuydo en Genoua porque todas se descargaron en la duana y mostraron y consiñaron a francisco de vgarte secretario del Embaxador figueroa como V. Mag^d mandara ver por la copia de la certifiçacion que dello dio que embio á Gonzalo perez supplico a V. Mag^d le mande scriuir que la busque y embie a buen recaudo y que lo de mejor de aqui adelante que por el passado.

El coste de las 700 vedrieras que vltimamente embie a Genoua sacare a pagar al Thesorero Dominego de Orbea como V. Mag^d me manda a quien suplico humilmente sea seruido mandar que se cumpla con quien le

huuiere de hauer y mande que se paguen los 929 escudos y medio de oro con mas el cambio que costaron los vidros y vedrieras y colores y otras cosas que embie los años passados para seruicio de V. Mag^{d} que aunque V. Mag^{d} ha mandado que se paguen, no tienen auiso los mercaderes que aqui los han de hauer que se hayan pagado.

Assi mismo suplico á V. Mag^{d} mande que se pague lo que he de hauer de mis quintas hasta en fin del año de 62 que lo he mucho menester para pagar lo que deuo aqui. Juan de Trillanes esta en la corte del Emperador negoçiando de voluer a seruir a su Mag^{d} en constantinopla y prinçipalmente por seruir a V. Mag^{d} segun me escriue pero hasta los 2 deste no hauia hauido resolucion. Nuestro señor la S. C. R. persona y estado de V. Mag^{d} guarde y prospere por largos tiempos con acrescentamiento de mas Reynos y señorios.

De VENECIA, xvj de Abril, 1564.

S. C. R. M.,
Criado de V. M. que sus reales pies y manos besa,
GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1564.

[Simancas, S^{ria} de Estado Leg^{o} 1325.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

(*Draft.*)

Venecia á 11 de Junio de 1564.

Tiçiano labra con diligencia en el quadro grande de Christo nuestro señor en la çena que haze para V. Mag^{d} pero aunque se de mucha prisa no lo acabara en tres meses, yo le solicito y solicitare hasta que le acabe, antiyer me dio vn retrato de la Serenisima Reyna de Romanos bien empacado, el qual con la ocasion deste correo embio á Don Gabriel de la Cueua, para que lo remita á V. Mag^{d} con la primera buena ocasion y le escriuo que tengo orden de V. Mag^{d} de hazerlo assi V. Mag^{d} sera seruido mandarlo escriuir que tenga dello cuydado, sino lo embiare antes.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1564.

[Simancas, S^{ria} de Estado Leg^{o} 1325.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

(*Minute.*)

July 15, 1564.

A Tiçiano direis que le tengo en seruiçio la diligençia que vsa en acabar el quadro de la çena de Christo nuestro Redentor y la que vso en el retrato de la Reyna mi hermana que tengo por çierto sera tan perfecto

como las otras cosas de su mano y el auerlo vos remitido a don Gabriel de la Cueua fue muy bien porque el me lo embiara a recaudo y con este correo le hermandado scriuir sobrello y sobre lo que mas ocurriere que me hayais de remitir por su mano, que lo hazeis por mi orden y que lo reciba y embie todo de manera que venga con seguridad y bien tratado y en esta misma substancia se scriue tambien al Embaxador figueroa para que en lo venidero ponga mas deligencia que por lo passado que ya scriuio que se hauia hallado la caxa de vidrios que faltaua que se hauia quedado alla por inaduertençia.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1564.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

(*Minute.*)

August 31, 1564.

Los quadros que remitistes a don Gabriel de la Cueua han llegado aqui bien tratados y me han contentado mucho y assi lo direis a Tiçiano, encargandole de mi parte que en los que tiene entre manos se de la mayor prisa que pue diere y auisadme en que disposicion esta para trauajar porque querria que me hiziese vna imagen de señor sant lorençio.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1564.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

PHILIP THE SECOND TO GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

(*Minute.*)

Madrid, Sep. 20, 1564.

Holgado he de entender que tiçiano huuiesse acabado el quadro de la çena de Christo nuestro Redentor porque tengo por çierto que deue tener la perfection que las otras pinturas que salen de su mano vos le agradescereis de mi parte la diligençia y trabajo que en ello ha puesto. Si fuera de tamaño que pudiera venir por tierra y por la posta como los de el otro dia pudierades embiarlo a don Gabriel de la Cueua que me lo remitiera pero creo que es tan grande que no se sufre y asi escriuo y embio á mandar al Embaxador figueroa que vea de remitirmelo con el primer buen passage de mar y porque podria que lo hubiesse presto de algunas galeras sera bien que sino huuieredes embiado el dicho quadro y no pudiere venir por tierra, lo remitais luego a Genoua para que se pueda traer por mar y auisareisme de lo que en esto huuiere.

Yo no sabia que en Milan se deuiesse à Tiçiano lo que dezis de su pension de çinco años que si se me huuiera dicho de buena gana selo hubiera mandado pagar como lo embio a mandar agora a don Gabriel

de la Cuena en la carta que yra con esta para el y en la de negocios se le ha puesto en capitulo sobre lo mismo para que entienda que se ha de cumplir luego y assi podreis dezir a Tiçiano que le embie mi carta y le haga soliçitar que no habra en ella falta.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1564.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

Ticiano tiene acabado el quadro de Christo nuestro señor en la cena y en boluiendo de Bressa donde fue mas ha de xv dias me lo dara que se aguarda de hora en hora y luego lo embiare al Embaxador de Genoua y le solicitare que de principio al del glorioso sant laurençio que bien puede trauajar pues por ganar dineros va de aqui a Bressa. Nuestro señor la S. C. R. persona y estado de V. Mag^d guarde y prospere por largos tiempos con acresçentamiento de mas Reynos y señorios.

De VENECIA, viij de Octubre, 1564.

S. C. R. M.

Criado de V. M. que sus reales pies y manos besa.

GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1564.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

GARCIA HERNANDEZ TO ANTONIO PEREZ.

ILL SEÑOR,—

He rescebido la carta de v. m. de primero del passado con otra para Ticiano, la qual di y ley a su hijo por estar el fuera de la ciudad y se aguarda aqui de hora en hora en viniendo le dire lo que v. m. manda en lo de la imagen que embiaua a francisco dolfin que sea en gloria no ay que hablar, pues el fue muy contento que v. m. se seruiese della como he scrito, el quadro de Christo en la cena que tiene hecho para su Mag^d es cosa maravillosa y de las buenas que ha hecho en su vida, segun me dizen maestro de l' arte y quantos lo veen y esta acabado y me lo hauia de dar a xv de settiembre para embiar a Genoua y quando se fue dixo que en boluiendo lo acabaria y me lo daria lo que sospecho es segun su codicia y auariçia que lo entretiene y entreterna hasta que venga el despacho de su Mag^d en que mande se le pague lo que ha de hauer y si en boluiendo no me lo da lo entendere assi, yo trauajare de sacarsele y que de principio al de san lorenço que aunque es tan viejo trabaja y puede trabajar y si viesse dineros haria mas de lo que requiere su edad que por ganarlos fue de aqui a Bressa a ver cierto lugar donde se ha de poner cierta obra que quieren de su mano v. m. acordara a su Mag^d

que mande se cumpla con el lo que tantas vezes le han escrito, que yo fio que no se canse y si v. m. quisiere alguna cosilla de su mano con esta occasion la hara de buena gana. En vn monesterio de esta ciudad esta vn quadro de san lorençᵒ que hizo el muchos años ha, el qual es de la grandeza y manera que v. m. apunta en su carta y los frayles me han dicho que le dieron por el dozientos escudos y lo copiaria por cinquenta Geronimo Tiçiano dendo o criado suyo que estubo en su casa mas de treinta años y es el que mejor lo haze aqui despues del, aunque no tiene comparacion y si su Magᵈ quisiere dos este se haura mas presto v. m. mandara auisarme de lo que sera seruido.

La mitad de los quadros de mano estan hechos y presto se acabaran todos, las tres lamparas estan acabadas y en una caxa que la hinchen toda por no poder yr deshechas por ellas se haran alla las demas embiando de aqui los vidros como screui a v. m. que costaran mucho menos.

El Ruybarbo he buscado con gran diligencia en compañia de un medico y dos boticarios amigos y en toda Veneçia no se halla vna drama de la calidad que contiene la memoria y todavia se busca si se hallare yra con esta y sino embiare vn poco del mejor que huuiere para muestra y que sirua si fuero bueno en el entretanto que uiene de levante, todo esto cuesta dineros y yo no los tengo, sino la necesidad que he scritto a v. m. por otras muchas y si su magᵈ no manda que con effetto sea pagado lo que han de hauer los mercaderes de alla y lo que yo deuo à los de aca no se que me hazer suplico a v. m. quan affectuosamente puedo lo acuerde a su Magᵈ y me perdone si soy importuno que la pura necesidad me costriñe a ello.

Por la de su Magᵈ vera v. m. lo poco que hay de nueuo cuya Illᵉ. persona y estado guarde y prospere nuestro señor por muchos años.

De Venecia, viiij de Octubre, 1564.

Besa las manos a v. m. su muy cierto seruidor,

Garcia hernandez.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1564.

[Srⁱᵃ de Estado Legᵒ 1325.]

Garcia Hernandez to Philip the Second.

Ticiano vino anoche oy le mostre la letra de V. Magᵈ el quadro de christo nuestro señor en la cena estara acabado y encaxado dentro de ocho o diez dias y lo embiare a Genoua, començara luego en el mismo telar el del glorioso sant laurençio y dize que no alçara la mano hasta que lo acabe y suplica a V. Magᵈ sea servido mandar que se le pague lo que ha de hauer del entretenimiento que le haze merced en esa corte y en milan que hasta agora no ha querido don Gabriel de la cueua pagarle lo que V. Magᵈ le mando; el esta gallardo y puede trabajar bien y si V. Magᵈ es servido que haga algunas otras cosas de su mano sera

menester auisarselo con tiempo que segun dizen personas que ha muchos años le conoçen va çerca de los 90 aunque no lo muestra y por dineros hara toda cosa. Nuestro señor la S. C. R. persona y estado de V. Mag^{d} guarde y prospere por largos tiempos con acrescentamiento de mas Reynos y señorios.

De VENECIA XV de Octubre, 1564.

S. C. R. M.,

Criado de V. Mag^{d} que sus reales pies y manos besa,

GARCIA HERNANDEZ.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1564.

[Simancas, S^{ria} de Estado Leg^{o} 1325.]

Marginal Notes of Philip the Second to précis of Garcia Hernandez' despatches of Oct. 9 *and* 15, 1564.

Lo de Mylan he mandado escribyr a don Grauise en carta de negocios que le pague y lo de aqui no se en que estados esta.

Acuerdeseme que yo mandare que sea con breuedad y haga sacar del pariente de Ticiano el quadro de san Lorenzo por los 50 ducados y no por este de este Ticiano de hacer el otro mas que haga que sean diferentes el uno del otro que desta manera puede aver dos.

Esta bien todo esto capitulo, &c., &c.

No se lo que es lo del Ruybarbaro . . .

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, July 28, 1565.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^{o} 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

POTENTISSIMO ET INUITISSIMO RE,—

La malignità della mia fortuna mi costringe a ricorrer alla infinita benignità di V. M^{ta} la quale come mio signore e munificentissimo uerso i suoi deuotissimi seruitori mi puo aiutare et fauorire malgrado anchora del mio destino. Questo io dico alla M. Vostra perche ne i giorni a dietro uolendo riscotere dalla camera di Milano alcuni resti delle mie ordinarie prouisioni mi e stata ritenuta la somma di alcune annate si ch' io uengo a patire cotal incommodo oltra che nel pagamento del restante mi e stata asignata una tratta di riso della quale uolendone cauar il dinaro mi e conuenuto perder più di cento ducati pero son venuto con questa a supplicar humilmente la M^{ta} Vostra a degnarsi di esser seruita in far commettere all' ecc. del signor gouernator de Milano ch' io sia rifatto di quello che per lo sudetto accidente io uengo a patire accioche non hauendo io per quanto si puo uedere altro tratenimento io possa uiuere in seruitio di V. M. con quel poco di prouisione che la gloriosa memoria di Cesare suo genitore et la M^{ta} Vostra medesima mi ha conceduto. Io staro dunque aspettando l suffraggio delle infinita benignita del mio clementissimo Re i tanto

andro riducendo a compimento la pittura del beato Lorenzo la quale credo che sara di sodisfattione alla M. V. Alla cui buona gratia humilmente mi raccomando.

Di Venetia, alli 28 di Luglio M.D.LXV.

Di R. M. Catholica

Humilissimo et deuotissimo seruo,

Titiano Vecellio.

[*Unpublished.*] Madrid, 1566.

[Simancas, S^ria de Estado Leg^o 1325.]

Philip the Second to Garcia Hernandez.

(*Minute.*)

Por lo que escriuistes a çayas entendimos lo que os dixo Ticiano que en toda esta quaresma acabaria el quadro de sanct lorençio de que holgamos y assi se lo agradescereis de mi parte y le solicitareis, si fuere menester y en estando en perfection me le embiareis puesto de su mano á todo buen recaudo.

De Madrid, á 26 de Março de 1566.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1567.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o 1336.

Titian to Philip the Second.

Inuittissimo et Potentissimo Re,—

Dalle letere di V. M. Catholica scrite al secretario Garcia Ernando di buona memoria ho compreso il grandissimo desiderio ch' ella ha della pittura del beato Lorenzo la quale gia molti mesi sarebbe giunta in spagna se non fosse stata la tardezza et l' indispositione et per la morte seguita del detto secretario suo ma hora la consignero al consolo della natione che l' indrizera a camino oltra di cio ho inteso che V. M. Catholica desidera di hauer distesa in pittura tutta la uita del detto santo la qual cosa se e cosi la supplico a degnarsi d' esser seruita ch' io intenda in quante parti essa la uoglia et l'altezza et larghezza de i quadri con il lume loro perch' ella potrebbe esser fatta in 6 in 8 et in 10 pezzi oltra questa parte della sua morte la quale e larga braccia 4 et mezzo et alta braccia 6 et quando hauro inteso la sua uolonta io metero ogni opera perch' ella resti presto seruita non restando di adoprar in questo oratio mio figliuolo et suo seruitore insieme con un' altro molto ualente giouine mio discepolo accioche in quella breuità ch' ella mi comandera l'opera si eseguisca; poi ch' io son disposto di spender tutto quel poco di uita che mi resta in suo seruitio. Ben supplico humilmente la Maesta Vostra a degnarsi di souenirmi ne i miei bisogni in questa età se non di altro almeno d'imponer a suoi ministri che mi siano pagate le

mie prouisioni senza alcuna dilatione perch' io non riscoto un quatrino che la meta non mi uada in spese et interesi cosi di procuratori et altri doni come ne i cambii et pur la camera di spagna mi sia debitrice delle rate de anni tre et mezo et di molto piu quella di Milano la quale nelli mesi passati mi ha ritenuto certe annate cosa ch' io non aspettaua da quei ministri essendo la mia seruitù continua con V. M. Catholica oltra ch' in pagarmi escuti 400 mi ha dato una tratta di risi di some 400 delle quali uolendone cauar il dinaro ho conuenuto perder due reali per soma che importa di daño piu di 80 scuti in circa. Aggiungendo a questa mia disgratia ch' della tratta di Napoli non e stato fatto esecutione alcuna gia tanto e tanto tempo non ostante le infinite cedule d'impositione della M. V. pero la supplico humilmente a degnarsi d' esser seruita che sia scritto a quei ministri che quando non si troui estratione alcuna di detta tratta quantunque li originali sieno smarriti mi sia fatta l'espeditione il che prego Dio et V. M. Catholica che sia accioche un giorno io possa rinfrancarmi delle infinite spese che per quella ho fatto fin hora di modo ch' ho sentito di danno quasi piu che non imposta essa tratta in salari et presenti fatti indarno a diuersi gentil'huomini et miei procuratori et supplicando di nouo humilmente la M. V. Catholica ad hauer per raccomandato il suo seruo Titiano et ad hauermi per iscusato se per colpa de suoi ministri ho tardato fin hora a mandarle la tela del beato Lorenzo, l' auiso come insieme con detta tela le mando una pittura d' una Venere ignuda la quale ho fatto da poi che hebbi fornita la sudetta fin a questo tempo et con ogni affetto di diuotione et de riuerenza le baçio le catholice mani.

Di VENETIA, alli 2 di Dicembre, MDLXVIJ.

Di V. M. Catholica
Humilisimo seruitor,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1568.

[Simancas, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITTISSIMO ET POTENTISSIMO RE, &a.,

Hauendo in questi ultimi giorni riduto a compimento la pittura di nostro signor col fariseo, che gli mostra la moneta la qual' io le promessi altre uolte l' ho inuiata alla Mtà Vostra et la supplico a degnarsi di goderla con le altre pitture di mia mano che le ho mandato per l' adietro et perch' io desidero di chiuder li giorni di questa mia estrema uecchiaia nel seruitio del Re catholico mio signore le prometto ch' io uado componendo un' altra inuencione di pittura di molto maggior fatica et artificio di quante io habbia forse fatto da molt' anni in qua ; et subito che sara fornita l' appresenterò humilmente al suo altissimo cospetto. In tanto accioche più liberamente, et senza il continuo trauaglio espesa ch' io sento di quella benedetta tratta di grano del Regno di Napoli non

anchora eseguita mai in tanti e tanti anni in seruir la M. Vostra nella sudetta pittura la supplico humilissimamente a degnarsi di esser seruita che la sudetta tratta mi sia espeditta quanto prima senza dilatione alcuna et mi sia espeditta libera da ogni grauame et spesa di quella camera in ricompenso di tanti et tanti continui interessi per molti anni partiti per tal negocio et per la antichissima mia deuotione e seruitù la qual gratia si come e ageuolissima da essermi conceduta dalla infinita benignita et munificentia di V. M. Catholica cosi mi souuenirà di maniera ch' in un grandissimo bisogno nel quale al presente mi ritrouo riputerò essermi tornata l' anima in questo afflitto corpo tutto dedicato al suo seruitio. Et riuerentemente á V. M. raccomandandomi le bacio le catholiche mani.

Di VENETIA, il XXVI d' Ottobre, M.D.LXVIIJ.

Di Vostra M^tà Catholica
Deuotissimo et humilissimo seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1571.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

INUITTISSIMO ET POTENTISSIMO RE, &a.,

Credo che fin hora la M^tà Vostra habbia riceuuta la pittura di Lucretia Romana uiolata da Tarquino, la quale l' Ambasciator de Venetiani le doueua presentare pero son uenuto con queste a supplicarla humilmente a degnarsi di esser seruita ch' io intenda come ella se ne sara compiaciuta. Et per che la calamità de tempi presenti ne i quali per la continua guerra ognuno patisce mi sforza a questo supplicherò insieme la M. V. a degnarsi di suffragar il suo seruo Titiano di qualche benigno fauore della sua clementissima gratia o con qualche aiuto di costa o con quale altra modo le paresse poi che ne la tratta di Napoli ne pagamento alcuno delle mie prouisioni ordinarie ho potuto riscuoter gia mai da molti anni in qua. Di modo tale ch' io non so come trouar modo di uiuere in questa mia ultima età, la quale io spendo tutta nel seruitio di V. M. Catholica senza seruir altri non hauendo mai da 18 anni in qua hauuto pur un quatrino per pagamento delle pitture che di tempo in tempo le ho mandato il memorial delle quali mando con questa occassione al secretario Perez et stando sicuro che la sua infinita clementia sia per mostrar di hauer grata la seruitù d' un suo seruitor di eta di nouanta cinque anni con qualche testimonio della infinita sua munificentia et liberalità mandandole due stampe del disegno della pittura del beato Lorenzo, humilissimamente mi raccomando in sua buona gratia.

Di VENETIA, il primo giorno d' Agosto M.D.LXXI.

Di V. M. Catholica
Humilissimo et diuotissimo seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1574.

[Simancas, Estado Leg° 1336.]

TITIAN TO SECRETARY ANTONIO PEREZ.

MOLTO ILLUSTRE SIGNOR MIO OSSERUANDISSIMO,—

Con infinita mia contentezza ho ueduto quanto V. S. ill^ma mi scriue nelle sue ultime letere onde mi rallegro sommamente ch' ella si sia in parte compiaciuta dell' opere mie fate in seruitio di lei, per seruir la quale mai non mi trouarò stanco ne satio. Cosi la ringratio dell' ufficio fatto dalla sua cortesia per me con S. M. Catholica et di quello ch' ella e per fare et per ubidir a quanto in questa materia ella mi scriue le dirò che le pitture delle quali non ho mai hauuto alcun pagamento sono le infrascritte, cio e dopo la carta seguente. Ma prima l' auisarò come ho riceuuti scuti 800 delli dinari ch' ha riscosto il gentile da cotesta camera regia et me ne restauo de hauer fin a quest' hora scudi 300 ma non gia quelli della camera di Milano pero spero per quanto mi promette il signor Ambasciatore che mi saranno pagati. In tanto non manco di seruir in qualunque modo io posso S. M. Catholica si nella bataglia et altre pitture cominciate, come nella pittura del presepio ch' ho cominciato hauendo inteso dal pittore ch' e giunto qui a me in questi giorni uenuto di spagna che S. M. desiderarebbe la natiuita di nostro signore la quale sola le manca tra le sue pitture. Similmente uado riducendo a fine per quanto computano i tempi di questa stagione le altre pitture di V. S. et della S^ra sua consorte le quali pero sono ridotte a buon termine. Io scriuo con questa occasione á S. M. Catholica secondo l'amoreuole ricordo di N. S. Ill^ma intorno á i pagamenti delle pitture a lei mandate gli anni passati et mando nelle letere incluso il memoriale conforme a questo ch' io mando á N. S. Ill^ma pero la supplico ad effetuare la sua cortese uolonta perche hauendo in questi tempi calamitosi bisogno di molte cose questo sara il maggior fauore ch' io possa per auentura aspettar da ley accettuando la buona gratia sua. Della quale s' io non potrò con le debili forze mostrarmi degno almeno non pretermettero occasione per la quale io possa mostrarle d'essere meriteuole per la buona uolonta ch' io ho di seruirla con che facendo fine infinitamente me le raccomando et baccio le mani.

Di VENETIA, li xxij di dicembre, MDLXXIIIJ.

Di V. S. molto illustrissima
seruitor obligatissimo,
TICIANO VECELLIO.

(*Inclosure in the foregoing.*)

MEMORIALE A SUA M^TA CATHOLICA PER TITIANO ET HORATIO SUO FIGLIOLO.

Primo, che sia posto nel bilanzo la pensione in Milano di Horatio mio figliolo accio senza^ tanti trauagli et fatiche et interessi possi goder la gratia fatta da sua M^ta.

Item, le pitture mandate a sua M^ta^ in diuersi tempi da anni vinticinque in qua sono queste et solamente parte et non tutte in cio si desidera dal signor Alons pittor di sua M^ta^ sia agionto quelle che mancano per non racordarmelle tutte :

Venere con Adonis.
Calisto graueda da Gioue.
Ateon sopragionge al bagno.
Andromeda ligada al saso.
l'Europa portata dal toro.
Christo nel horto alla oratione.
La tentatione de i hebrei con la moneta a Cristo.
Christo nel sepolcro.
La S. Maria Madalena.
Li tre maggi d'oriente.
Venus con Amor gli tien il specchio.
La nuda con il paese con el satiro.
La cena del nostro signor.
Il martirio di S. Lorenzo con le altre molte ch' non mi aricordo, &c.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1575.

[Simancas, Estado Leg^o^ 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

CATHOLICO ET POTENTISSIMO RE MIO SIGNORE,—

Sapendo con quanta somma benignità V. M^ta^ Catholica gia ordino che le fosse ricordato la recognitione delle pitture mandatele di suo ordine in diuersi tempi uengo hora con la confidentia del suo antico seruo Titiano a dargliene nouo memoriale conferma speranza che la sua regia et alta liberalita verso me uora che si eseguisca il gia ordinato da lei a beneficio mio, accio che con animo più lieto possa attendere alle altre opere dedicate alla gloria di V. M. che io uado facendo in questa mia ultima età, la quale nel uero per le fortune catiue del mondo ho gran bisogno della potenza et molto reale liberalità di tanto Principe del mondo come e V. M. Catholica la quale nostro Signor Dio guardi longo tempo si come deuotissimo lo prego ogni hora et deuotissimo me le inchino.

Di VENETIA il giorno di natale di Nostro Signor Jesu Cristo 1575.

Di V. M. Catholica
deuotissimo et humilissimo seruitor,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

[*Unpublished.*] Venice, 1576.

[Simanca, Estado Legº 1336.]

TITIAN TO PHILIP THE SECOND.

S. C. R. Mᴬᵀ,—

L' infinita benignità di V. Mᵗᵃ Cattolica colla quale per suo natural costume suol gratificare tutti quelli che fidelmente l'hanno seruita et tuttauia la seruono mi da animo di comparirli auanti con la presente cosi per rinouarmi nella sua Real memoria, nella quale senz' altero io mi persuado che l'antica et diuota seruitù mia mi tenghi ancora conseruato come anche per supplicarla de mia gracia la quale e questa. Sono passati gia circa XXV anni che in ricompensa di molte pitture ch' in diuerse occasioni ho inuiato alla Mᵗᵃ Vostra non ho mai hauuto cosa alcuna hauendo pero hauuto relatione per letere del Signor secretario Antonio Perez della buona uolontà di V. Mᵗᵃ uerso la persona mia in gratificarmi onde essendo gia ridotto ad una età molto graue et non senza mia grande necesita con ogni humilta uengo a supplicarla che con la solita sua pieta si degni sopra cio dar a suoi ministri quell' ordine che le parerà più espediente per rimedio del mio bisogno accio hauendomi la gloriosa memoria di Carlo quinto suo felicissimo Padre ascrito nel numero de suoi familiari o per dir meglio fidelissimi serui con hauermi oltre ogni mio merito honorato del nome di caualiero possi anche con il fauore et protectione di V. M. uero ritrato di quel immortal imperatore sostentar come conuiene questo nome di caualiere tanto honorato et dal mondo cosi stimato et perche si conosca insieme che le mie fatiche fatte tant' anni alla serenissima casa d'Austria siano state grate il che sara causa che con più lieto animo passato il rimanente di miei giorni en seruitio di V. M. C. ne quali sarò tanto più obligato ueggendomi con la sua gracia in questa mia uecchiazza consolato di pregare il signor Dio che le conceda felice et lunga uita con l'accrescimento della sua diuina gracia et essaltatione de suoi Regni in questo mentre stato aspettando dalla Real benignità di V. M. il frutto della desiderata gratia et con quella riuerenza et humilta ch' io debbio le bascio le sacre mani.

Di VENETIA li XXVIJ Febraro, 1576.

Di V. Mᵗᵃ Catholica
Humilissimo et Deuotissimo seruo,
TITIANO VECELLIO.

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